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EARLY HISTORY
- - OF INDIA - -



The Life-Size Buddha Statue of Mathurā.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA

(Third & Revised Edition)

BY

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To
Goddess of Learning
in Reverent Worship.

FIRST EDITION, 1939
SECOND EDITION, 1948
THIRD EDITION, 1951

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of my book *Early History of India* having run out of print long ago, a new edition of this work was called for. The MS of a revised and enlarged edition was prepared three years ago, but the difficulties of press and paper arising out of the exigencies of the war delayed its publication. I am thankful to the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, for having undertaken to publish this work in June, 1947 and bravely coped with all manner of difficulties to bring it to light in August, 1948.

The book has been thoroughly revised and re-written in the light of new information that is coming so rapidly in such vast bulk as a result of fresh discoveries and researches. The effect has been that the book has been twice its former size. No pains have been spared to bring it up-to-date. The delay in the publication made it possible for me to incorporate in it the results of the latest researches, even upto 1947.

Attention may be drawn to several new features to be found in this edition: (1) Material changes have been made in a number of chapters in the light of new and accepted conclusions on facts of political history, (2) and greater emphasis has been laid on its cultural aspects which were less attended to in the first edition. (3) As many as five maps have been specially prepared and provided in the book to make it more helpful to students. (4) Some important topics which are still in the realm of controversy and no definite conclusions have been arrived thereof, have been given

in the form of Appendixes, instead of in the body of the book. There are four such Appendixes.

About the latest results of the researches incorporated in the book, I must acknowledge my debt to Mm. Prof. Mirashi's works on Vākāṭaka history which I have extensively used and acknowledged in the foot-notes. Works of other scholars which have been consulted where it was necessary, either for acceptance or rejection of the views stated therein, have also been referred to in the foot-notes.

My thanks are due to my students Shri Chandra Chur Mani, M.A., Shri Sachchidanand Pandey, M.A., Shri B. K. Banerjee, M.A., for assisting me in going through the proofs; and to Shri Vijaya Kanta Misra, M.A., Shri V. C. Pande, my students, and Shri S. Mazumdar of the Indian Press, for preparing the Index. It cannot be claimed that the Index is exhaustive, but care has been taken to include all important references.

'Ganga Villa'
New Bairana,
Allahabad.

N. N. GHOSH

30th June 1948.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE OF THE FIRST EDITION.

The scope, range and the period of the historicity of ancient India are being increased every day on account of archaeological discoveries and researches of oriental scholars; materials for writing a history of Ancient India are being added from day to day; special monographs or articles by learned scholars are being published at a uniformly good rate for the last twenty-five years; besides, the materials available in our ancient literature are voluminous. To make full use of those materials and write a history of ancient India in the form of a handy text-book has been a difficult task. My work has been to make a critical study, select and sift those materials. The nature and scope of this book would allow none of the controversial and abstruse discussion of evidences. Having, therefore, avoided them, I have endeavoured to give in a simple, direct narrative an up-to-date authoritative and comprehensive picture of ancient Indian history embodying the generally accepted results of the most recent researches. How far I have succeeded in my object, it is for the indulgent readers to judge.

I have stated on some topics my personal opinions where they were due and given here and there foot-notes to cite certain authorities for stimulating further reading by interested and advanced students.

‘Ganga Villa’

New Bairana,
Allahabad.

July 10, 1939.

N. N. GHOSH

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABNU.—Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University.
- AIHT.—Ancient Indian Historical Traditions by F. E. Pargiter.
- AHD.—Ancient History of the Deccan by H. Dubreuil.
- Allan. Cat.—Catalogue of the Coins in British Museum—
Coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Sasāṅka,
king of Gauda, by J. Allan.
- ASIAR—Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
- Arch. Surv. West—Archaeological Survey of Western India.
- ASR. Mysore—Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Reports.
- Aśoka—By D. R. Bhandarkar.
- AUAS.—Allahabad University Annual Series.
- Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World.
- BM. Cat.—British Museum, Catalogue of Coins.
- Bomb. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.
- C. A. I.—Chronology of Ancient India by Pradhan.
- CHI. I.—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
- CCIM.—Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum by
V. Smith.
- CII.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Vol. I. edited by E. Hultzsch.
Vol. II. edited by Sten Konow.
Vol. III. edited by J. Fleet.
- Dh. C.—Dhammapada Commentary.
- Dig. Nik.—Dīgha Nikāya.
- Dip.—Dīpavaṃsa.
- DKA.—Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F. E. Pargiter.
- Div.—Divyāvadāna, Ed. by Cowell and Neil.

- EAI.—Education in Ancient India by A. S. Altekar.
- EHD.—Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- EHI.—Early History of Ancient India by V. Smith.
- Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
- Fleet.—Gupta Inscriptions.
- Fa-hien—Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-hien's Travels, Tr. by J. H. Legge.
- GEB.—Geography of Early Buddhism by B. C. Law.
- GBI.—Greeks & Bactrians in India by Tarn.
- GOM.—Government Oriental Publications, Madras.
- Harsha—By R. K. Mookerji.
- Hc.—*Harshacharita*.
- Hc. T.—*Harshacharita*—English Tr. by Cowell and Thomas.
- IA. or Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
- New Ind. Ant.—New Indian Antiquary.
- IC.—Indian Culture, Calcutta.
- Imp. Gaz.—Imperial Gazetteer of India.
- Ind. Hist. Quart.—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- JASB.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JBRAS.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JBORS.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- JMBS.—Journal of the Maha-Bodhi Society of India & Ceylon.
- JNSI.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
- JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Life*.—Life of Yuan Chwang (Beal).
- MASI.—Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- Mbh.—The Mahābhārata.

V.—Mahāvamsa.

NHI.—New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI.
(Bharatiya Itihas Parishad.)

PE.—Pillar Edict of Aśoka.

PHAI.—Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Ray-
chaudhuri.

Pradhan, CAI.—Chronology of Ancient India by Sita Nath
Pradhan, (Calcutta.)

The Periplus—Of the Erythraean Sea.

Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.—Proceedings of the Indian Historical
Congress.

RASI.—Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

RE.—Rock Edict of Aśoka.

SI.—Select Inscriptions by D. C. Sarkar.

SHI.—South Indian Inscriptions.

Watters.—On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Watters, Vols.
I & II.

Winternitz.—History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz,
(English Translation).

FRONTISPIECE NOTE

The Gupta Kings, though they were Brahmanists, were tolerant to Buddhism. Buddhist art in those days attained a high degree of perfection. The Buddhist statue, then entirely freed from foreign influence, became the purest expression of mental repose achieved by the subjection of the flesh. This life-size Buddha statue dedicated by Buddhist Bhikshu, Yaśadinna in the fifth century A.D., is to be found in the Mashurā Muṣeum. It is a specimen of the noblest spiritual traditions which characterised the art of that age. The delicate fold of the diaphanous garment and the halo at the back of the head mark a vast improvement on the Gandhāra style and show an excellent taste and sense of beauty. The elaborate halo is covered all over with concentric bands of graceful ornaments in which festoons and foliage alternate with conventional flowers and *baṃsas*. The Gupta period has been rightly called the 'Golden Age' of Indian Art, of which this life-size statue (Frontispiece illustration) is one of the best examples.

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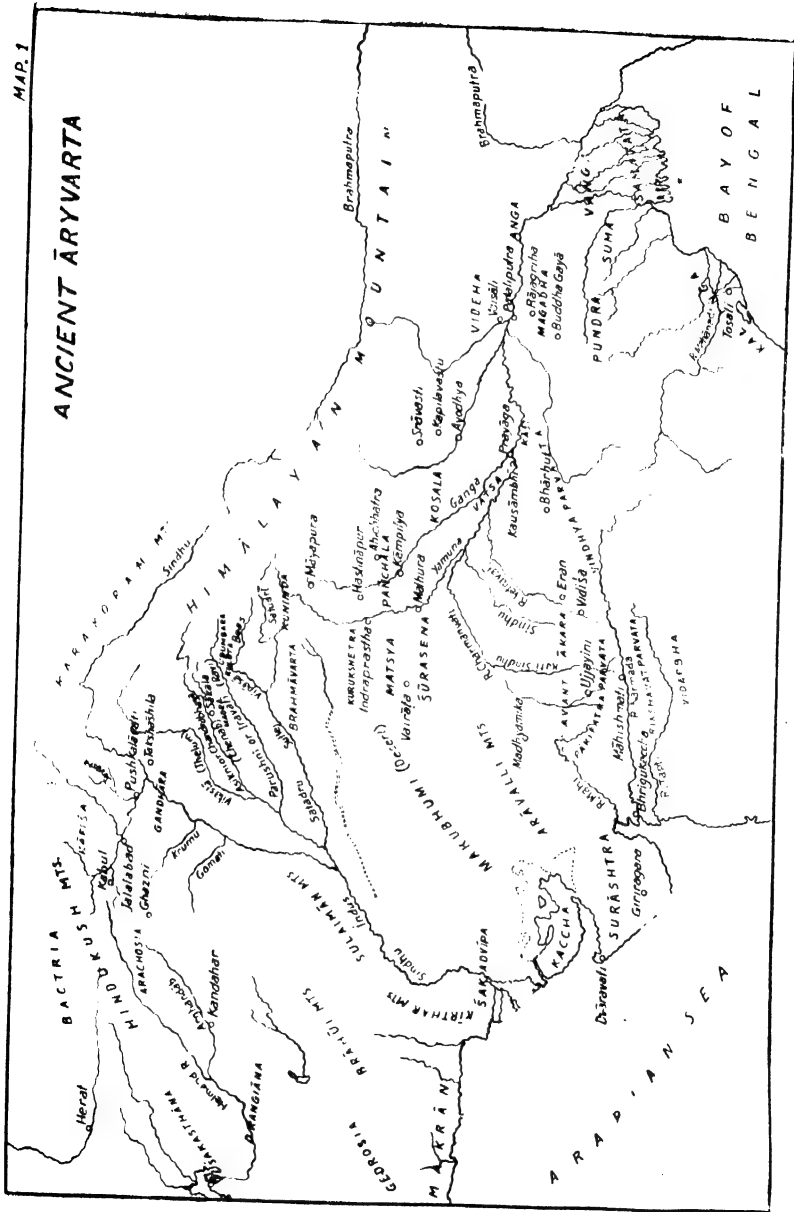
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ANCIENT ĀRYAVARTA



INTRODUCTORY

I

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The history of a country is largely influenced by its geographical features. It is, therefore, necessary to the student of Indian history, specially of early Indian history, when it was in its formative period, to realize some of these outstanding geographical features of India which influenced its history.

In shape a three-cornered peninsula, India is bounded in the north by the lofty Himalayas and in the south, east, and west by the open sea. The north-west and north-east frontiers are guarded by the range of hills consisting of the off-shoots of the Himālayas.

India thus possesses natural protective barriers which not only give security to its frontiers but also give it a geographical unity which provides a back-ground for the development of a common civilization and a united nation. These natural frontiers had also the effect of making its civilization unique and original in character and ensuring a definite individuality to its people.

India (excluding the province of Burma which was separated in the year 1935 to form a new country) has an area which exceeds one and a half millions of British square miles.¹ It is thus larger than the whole of Europe minus Russia. It has an extensive seaboard running for more than three thousand miles. Its population according to the latest census on record is nearly four hundred millions.

The vastness of the country produced some inevitable physical characteristics: the **physical features** and climatic conditions are varied in character. There are inaccessible mountain heights, the highest on the face of the earth, low alluvial plains, high tablelands, wild forests, secluded valleys and arid deserts. It has the hottest plains and the coolest hill-resorts. In consequence of this variety of physical conditions prevailing in different parts of this vast country, and the difficulties of communication between

¹ 1,808,679 Sqr. miles—more than twenty times that of Britain.

these parts in ancient India, the people of India have developed different manners, custom and languages, and the different races of early settlers have retained unimpaired their own individuality. This explains why India contains, in spite of its being an ideal geographical unit, a greater variety of races, religions, and languages than the whole of Europe. For all these varieties India may be more fittingly called a sub-continent than a country like, say, France or Germany.

In spite of these diversities due to reasons stated above, there are bonds of **fundamental unity**. Dr. Vincent Smith says : "The essential fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the diverse people of India have developed a peculiar type of culture and civilization, utterly different from any other type in the world ; that civilization may be summed up in the term of Hinduism. India is primarily a Hindu country, the land of the Brāhmins who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration and not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brāhman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet and other borderlands, dominates the whole of Hindu India. Nearly all Hindus revere Brāhmins; venerate the cow and recognize the authority of the Vedas. Sanskrit is everywhere, recognised as a sacred language. The great gods—Vishnu and Śiva—are more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim when going the round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrinath or on the burning sands of Rama's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as in Hindusthan. All alike share in the affection of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana."

Besides these bonds of cultural unity which bind the Hindus of diverse races, languages, manners and custom by distinguishing them from the rest of mankind, there are other bonds which knit different religious communities—Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. These bonds are common political and economic interests, which are of vital importance for their very existence, and therefore, rise higher than religious or racial differences. A proper orientation of this fundamental bond of unity, on the basis of common political and economic interests, is the strongest factor

that should help to bind different communities and races into one united nation.

Internally the country is made up of four distinct regions according to the peculiar physical features in each: (1) The Himalaya mountain region; (2) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and the Ganges; (3) the Deccan Plateau lying between the Narbadā in the north and the Krishṇā and the Tungabhadra in the south; (4) the far-south beyond these rivers, comprising the group of Tamil States.

The Mountain Region of the north and north-west is made up of the Himālaya and the Suleiman hills, which lie west of the Indus, the valleys of which are peopled by fierce and war-like tribes who have retained intact their primitive mode of life. Their region forms part of the present N. W. F. Province created by Lord Curzon.

The Northern Plains are made up of the Indo-Gangetic valleys as well as the sandy desert, and rocky plains of Rājputāna to the Vindhya range, and the Narbadā. Here the Aryans developed their early civilization and they named the region Āryāvarta.

The Deccan Plateau and the far-south together forming South India are separated from the northern plains of Hindusthan by a five-fold barrier of the Narbadā, the tapti, the Vindhya, the Sātpurā hills, and the *Mabākāntāra* or a broad belt of dense forests. These barriers kept South India free from the inroads of the Aryan immigrants for a considerable time, with the result that by the time Aryan rule, culture, and civilisation were finally established in Northern India, the native inhabitants of the South developed a different type of civilisation untouched by Aryan influence. Relics of this civilisation, called Dravidian, still exist in the South.

The large and navigable rivers with which Northern India is blessed, had a far-reaching **effect**. The great plains of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Jumna gave the Indo-Aryans their earliest opportunity to settle as agriculturists, forget their restless nomadic habits and develop a civilisation at an early age when many other peoples of the world were no better than rude barbarians. Boats plying up and down these rivers carried on inland trade between distant parts of the country. The fertility of the plains watered

by these rivers and their tributaries made cultivation easy and the production plentiful. Easy cultivation gave plenty of leisure to the people when agriculture was the occupation of almost every man, as it is to a great extent in India even now.

Plentiful agricultural production coupled with mineral wealth of all kinds made the country very rich. While leisure conduced to the growth of religious, philosophical and didactic literature, its wealth attracted the greed of its poor but hardy neighbours from beyond the mountain passes which were left more or less unguarded by any system of organised and effective defence. Its consequence has been, that India was subjected to a series of foreign invasions, resulting in conquests followed by either permanent settlements or mere plundering raids.

There is, however, an important fact to be noticed in this connection. After the development and consolidation of Hindu polity and culture by the Indo-Aryans in this country and up to the time of the Muhammadan invasion and conquest, whatever races came to India and settled in the country, were absorbed in the people and became completely Hinduised in manners, custom, and religion. But the Muhammadans came to India with a developed culture of their own and an aggressive type of missionary religion. They were, therefore, able to save their racial individuality and cultural distinction from being absorbed into Hinduism. The pride of the conqueror and the spirit of the iconoclast prevented the Muslim from being influenced by Hinduism, in the manner and measure in which the previous non-Muslim settlers in the country were influenced. The result is that since the coming of the Muslims, a twin stream of clearly different types of culture ran side by side. Yet as time passed on, each began to see some good in the other. Close contact for a considerable time wore away mutual prejudices. One culture contributed to enrich the other, and every aspect of Indian civilisation in the mediæval and later mediæval periods, in architecture, art, literature, and religion, bore the impress of a mixed culture which we may name Hindu-Muslim culture of India.

A new element, modern western culture, found its way to India with the coming of the English to this country as con-

querors and rulers. Western education and Christian ideals have not failed to influence the Hindu-Muslim culture of India, and various, aspects of our life to-day, political, economic, social, and religious, bear the stamp of western influence.

II

THE SOURCES OR THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES

The sources for the early history of India may be classified under the following heads :

A. LITERATURE

Unfortunately we have no contemporary writers of a historical book about ancient India like Herodotus who wrote the "*Histories of Greece*" or Livy who wrote the "*Annals of Rome*". Yet there is a vast and varied mass of ancient Indian literature which, when used with care and discretion, is a valuable source for our early history. This literature may be divided into (1) Sacred and (2) Secular.

(1) *Sacred Literature*. Under sacred literature mention must be made of the four *Vedas* of which the *Rigveda* is the oldest and is a rich source of Indo-Aryan history and polity during its development in the land of the seven rivers. The *Brāhmaṇs* which are prose commentaries on the Vedic hymns or *Saṃhitās* speak of Āryāvarta. In them we find that their religion and mode of life both had considerable changes from their early simplicity. The *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upanishads* which form the last portion of a Veda embody philosophical meditations of learned sages on the soul, God, and the world. They reveal a state of development in culture and religious thought of the early Hindus which still lies unsurpassed in its depth and sublimity.

Special branches of science for the study of the Vedas grew up. They are known as the *Vedāṅgās* or supplementary sciences of the Veda. They are six in number, e.g., phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics, and astronomy.¹ These sciences

¹ *Śikshā kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktam chbanda jyotiṣam*.—Munḍaka Up., I. 1. 5:

were developed to help to understand the Vedic texts properly. In the course of time these subjects were treated more and more systematically, and separate, special schools, though still within the Vedic schools, arose for each. These, then, evolved special school texts, the *Sūtras* or the manuals, composed in a peculiar prose style intended for memorisation. Brevity is the soul of the *Sūtra* style of writing.

The *Kalpasūtras* are the manuals on ritual which, as we have seen, is one of the *Vedāṅgas*. There are four divisions of the *Kalpasūtras*. The rules that relate to big sacrifices are collected in the name of *Śrautasūtras*. The rules that relate to domestic rites are collected under the name of *Gṛhyasūtras*. The rules or manuals on *dharma* or law are called *Dharmasūtras*. The *Śulvasūtras* contain exact rules for the measurement and the building of the place of sacrifice and fire-altars. As such they are directly attached to the *Śrautasūtras*. As a separate science, however, they are the oldest works on Indian Geometry and Architecture.

The entire range of the Vedic literature from the *Ṛigvedic Saṃhitās* to the *Sūtras* covers the period of Indo-Aryan history from c. 2500 to c. 500 B. C.

The two great Epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—give a vivid picture of the social and political condition of the Aryans when they had settled for a considerable time in Northern India. It has not yet been definitely ascertained when the epics were composed or assumed their present shape. The earliest portions of the epics are very old indeed. But additions have been made in successive ages, spread over probably for a thousand years, before they have reached their present shape. Some scholars are of opinion that the latest recension of the epics was made in the second century A. D. but it may be earlier. There is no doubt that the original epics were composed not later than the third or second centuries B. C. the older nucleus of the epics, existing in the form of *gāthās* or ballads, is still older.

The *Dharmaśāstra*, we have seen, form that division of the *Sūtra* literature which deals with *Dharma* or law, that is, with the rules of social conduct, as distinguished from the

Grihya Sūtras, which deal with domestic rites only. The Dharmaśāstra literature has been directly evolved out of the Dharmasūtras. Its distinguishing features are that it is, unlike the Dharmasūtras, written in verse and is more elaborate and properly arranged in matters of law and legal procedures than the earlier law books, the Dharmasūtras. The earliest extant book on the Dharmaśāstras or the metrical smṛitis is the *Manusmṛiti*. The Hindus consider that the Manusmṛiti is undoubtedly of great historical value as representing the ideal and character of the Hindu society. It was composed according to Dr. Bühler between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. The age of Manu probably approximates the earlier rather than the later date suggested by Dr. Bühler. The later smṛitis such as of Yajñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Brihaspati, and Nārada etc. were more or less based on the earliest extant and most authoritative code of Hindu law, the Manusmṛiti.

The *Purāṇas* are more akin to real histories than any other branch of sacred literature of ancient India. There are eighteen Purāṇas which are associated with the same number of *Upapurāṇas*. A Purāṇa has five sections, each dealing with a different topic. The fifth and the last section of the Purāṇas entitled Vamśacharita deals with the history of royal dynasties. In several of these Purāṇas the royal dynasties of the past are followed by lists of the kings of the future in the form of prophecies. The prophetic style has been used in the Purāṇas to emphasise their antiquity. In the lists of kings of the Kali-age, we meet, among others, the dynasties of the Śaiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kaṇvas, Andhras and Guptas which are well known in history. Among the Śaiśunāgas are Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who are mentioned in the Jaina and Buddhist writings as contemporaries of Mahāvira and Gautama Buddha (6th, to 5th, century B.C.). With the Maurya Chandragupta, who came to the throne in C. 322 B.C., we emerge into the clear daylight of history. Though these lists of the kings of the Kaliyuga can be utilised as historical sources with caution and discrimination, scholars have found through investigations that the Viṣṇupurāṇa is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty and that the Matsya-Purāṇa is also very reliable as regards the Andhra dynasty. The Vāyu-Purāṇa describes the rule of the Guptas

as it was under Chandragupta (beginning of the 4th. century A.D.). At the end of the lists of the kings these Purāṇas enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Śūdras and Mlechchhas), such as Abhīras, Gardabhas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Hūṇas and so on, which were contemporary with the former.

The Purāṇas do indeed contain very ancient traditions which have been referred to also in the Vedic literature, but for a long time they remained in the form of floating masses of oral traditions and handed down from generation to generation in the form of Ākhyāyikās or stories. It seems that the earlier Purāṇas had come into being as early as the first century of the Christian era, as there is a striking resemblance found between the Buddhist Mahāyāna texts of that period and the Purāṇas. The *Lalitavistāra* not only calls itself a Purāṇa but really has much in common with the Purāṇas. Some passages of the *Mahāvastu* are strikingly similar to some of those of the Purāṇas regarding the emphasis given on the cult of Bhakti. It is probable that the entire Purāṇas received their final shape in the 5th or 6th century A.D., for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers than the Guptas, such as Harsha, occur in the list of kings. Bāṇa (beginning of the 7th Century A.D.) knows the Purāṇas well and relates in historical romance, the *Harshacharita*, how he attended a reading of the Vāyupurāṇa in his native village.

Tripiṭaka is the name given to the Buddhist canonical literature. Buddha lived and preached for fortyfive years after his enlightenment at Gayā. After his *parinirvāṇa* all his sayings were collected and classified into three divisions. His instruction relating to Church discipline were named Vinaya Piṭaka. His discourses on religious doctrine were called Sutta Piṭaka and those relating to the philosophical principles were called Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Buddha's discourses and instructions were almost always coupled with stories and illustrations. As such, the books of the Tripiṭaka contain in them a mine of information about the political, social, and religious conditions prevailing in his time (c. 600 B.C.)

The Jaina canonical texts known as the Twelve Aṅgas supplement the information of the Tripiṭaka as they contain numerous

historical statements and allusions of considerable value of the time of the founder of Jainism, Mahāvira, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. The *Jaina Kalpasūtra* written by Bhadrabāhu in about 4th century B.C. is a valuable piece of information regarding the early history of the Jainas. It is believed that the Jaina canon in its present form was written in the Jaina conference at Valabhi (C. 500 A.D.)

Besides the canonical Pāli texts of the Tripiṭaka, there are other Pāli works on Buddhism which orthodox Buddhists regard, though not in the same degree, as the texts of the Piṭakas. Among them mention must first be made of the *Jātakas* or stories of previous births of the Buddha, or Bodhisattva stories as they are called. A Bodhisattva, according to Buddhist traditions, is a being who is destined to obtain Bodhi (Enlightenment) i.e. to become a Buddha. Tradition has it that Gautama, the Buddha, had passed through countless births as man, animal or god, before he was born for the last time as the Śākya prince, and received the enlightenment at Gayā. There are 549 of such Jātaka hitherto collected and published. In each of the Jātaka or birth story light is thrown on the political, social economic, and religious conditions of early Buddhist India. On monumental and epigraphic evidences the Jātakas can be dated in the second or third century B.C. There are reliefs of the Jātakas on the stone walls around the Stūpas of Barhūt and Sāñchī which were built about that time. The Buddhist traditions date them further back, as some portions undoubtedly are, and relate to Indian life of the seventh or eighth century B.C., before Buddha was born. Jātakas are told in simple narratives in the most arresting style. The German orientalist Winternitz, says, "The Jātakas were of inestimable value, not only as regards literature and art, but also from the point of view of the history of civilisation for the period of the third century B.C."¹

Another well-known Pāli text is the *Milinda Pañha* which speaks of the Buddhist priest Nāgasena and king Milinda who is identified with the Indo-Bactrian-king Menander, a contemporary

¹ Winternitz—vol. I, p. 155.

of the Śuṅga emperor Pushyamitra of the second century B.C. The commentaries of the Pāli canonical texts written by Buddhaghosha who flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D. contain in them copious historical and geographical allusions.

2. *Secular Literature.* The limited space of this volume does not permit us to have a full and detailed summary of all the works under the head Secular Literature. We shall mention only a few typical works which contain important materials of historical value. Of these the first place is undoubtedly given to the *Arthaśāstra*, a book on political science ascribed to Kauṭilya, the famous Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya (400 B.C.)¹. The grammatical works of Pāṇini (C. 700—500 B.C.) and of Kātyāyana (C. 400 B.C.) throw valuable light on the history of the pre-Maurya and Maurya political condition of India. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and the historical drama *Mālarikāgnimitra* by Kālidāsa throw interesting light on the history of the early Śuṅgas. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts the *Dīpyāradāna*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* as well as the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dīpavāṃśa* and the *Mahāvāṃśa* contain plenty of early Indian traditions chiefly concerning the Maurya and the Śākya dynasties. The skilfully constructed historical drama the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta composed in C. 500 A.D. yields valuable information regarding the history of Nanda and early Maurya rule. The three dramatic works ascribed to Harsha, the *Nāgānanda*, the *Ratnāvalī*, and the *Priyadarśika* throw interesting side-light on the history of the 7th century A.D. But as a piece of semi-historic work of the same century, the biographical work of Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* is very important. It gives much accurate and valuable information, though here and there, there is much affected rhetoric and exaggeration which mars its veracity in some cases. It has been aptly compared by V. Smith to Abul Fazal's *Akbarnamah*. The nearest approach to a work of regular

¹ For detailed study of the evidences regarding the date of the *Arthaśāstra* see my monograph on *The Age and Authenticity of Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* [Allahabad University Annual Studies, 1942, and Dr. A. B. Keith's reply to it in his article on the *Age of the Arthaśāstra*, (B.C. Law Volume I, 1945, pp. 477—95.)]

history is the famous Sanskrit work, the *Rajatarangīni*, composed in the 12th century A.D. by a Kashmīrī Paṇḍita, Kalhaṇa. The author narrates the history of the Kings of Kashmīr from the earliest time to his own. The record of events contemporary with and slightly preceeding the author is very accurate and trustworthy. Although the work is primarily a narrative of the history of Kashmīr Kings, it contains plentiful references to the events of other parts of India.

B. FOREIGN TESTIMONY

The evidences of indigeneous literatures are supplemented to a most important extent by the records of foreign writers. The Greek writers of pre-Alexandrian period mostly wrote from hearsay and travellers' tales. In this group are to be mentioned the names of Skylax, Hekataeus, Herodotus and Ktesias. Skylax was a Greek mercenary who had explored the Indus river at the bidding of his master, the Persian Emperor Darius, in the 6th century B.C. His narrative about India was evidently known to Aristotle, two centuries later, who quotes from it a statement that among the Indians the kings were held to be of superior race to their subjects¹. He astonished his countrymen with travellers' tales—stories of people who used their enormous feet as sunshades, of people who wrapped up in their own ears, and of people with one eye and so on.² His account is thus of very little historical value. Hekataeus of Miletus, a contemporary of Skylax, probably drew his information from the latter, as the phantastic stories about people with enormous feet etc. also appear in his geographical work, the *Periplus Gēs*. In addition to the Indo [the Indus river] he heard the name of the people called Gandhāri on the Upper Indus as also the name of a city in that region which he wrote as Kaspayros. Herodotus (born, B.C. 484) also wrote about India. A good deal of what he wrote was no doubt drawn from Hekataeus, and as such was fantastic. Certain of the broad facts about India he knew correctly. 'The Indians are by far the

¹ Camb. Hist. Ind., vol. I. p. 393.

² *Ib.*

greatest multitude of all the peoples of men whom we knew', he writes¹. The Indian, however, whom he knew were more or less barbarous tribes near the Persian frontier. What he tells us therefore of their manners and custom do not apply to civilised India. He speaks of the Indians 'who dwelt near the city of Kaspapyros and the country of the Pactyes, (Pashtus), that is, the hill tribes about the Kābul valley. 'They were', he says, 'the most war-like'. It was these tribal peoples who evidently formed part of the army of Xerxes which invaded Greece. Herodotus describes the dress, equipment etc. of the 'Indians' serving in the army of Xerxes thus : "They wore garment 'made from trees (*i.e.* cotton) and carried bows of reed with iron heads. Some fought on foot and some in chariots drawn by asses."² He also speaks of trees that bore wool, surpassing in beauty and in quality the wool of sheep; and the Indians wear clothing from these trees'.

Ktesias, a native of Knidos in Karia was by profession a physician and in this capacity lived for 17 years (439—15 B.C.) in the court of Artaxerxes. But he did not properly utilise the exceptional opportunities for acquiring correct knowledge of India. His *Indika* though written in an attractive style is full of fables. Mr. Bevan calls him a deliberate 'liar'.³

Alexander's expedition was not entirely military; it was also partly scientific, and made vast additions to the sum of human knowledge. The great conqueror himself was the disciple of a great master of knowledge, and among the officers who accompanied him into India, not a few were distinguished for their literary and scientific culture. Among them the most eminent were, Ptolemy who became the king of Egypt, Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet; Onesicritus, the pilot of the fleet; and Aristobulus⁴ who wrote his book long afterwards, in extreme old age. The richest and most trustworthy contribution to the Greek knowledge of India was that of Nearchus whose book contained a detailed account of his voyage between the Indus and the Persian Gulf. His book also contained a good deal of incidental informa-

¹ Ib. p. 395. ² Ib. p. 395. ³ Ib. p. 397. ⁴ Aristobulus account has been fully utilised by Arian in his *Anabasis* or the history of Alexander's war.

tion about India. Onesicritus who took part in the expedition of Nearchus also wrote a book about it and about India. But Strabo considers him untruthful.

These writers were succeeded by three ambassadors sent successively by Greek sovereigns to the Indian court at Palibothra (Pātaliputra), namely, Megasthenes, Deimachus sent from the Syrian court, and Dionysius sent from the Egyptian court of Ptolemy. Deimachus was sent to Amitrachates (Bindusāra). The books of Deimachus and Dionysius, if they wrote any at all, are almost entirely lost to us. The statements quoted from them by later writers are few and far-between and usually relate to unimportant subjects. But the book written by Megasthenes, ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, was the fullest account of India which the Greek world ever had.

Only one other writer calls for mention. Somewhat later than the work of Megasthenes on India, Patrocles, governor of the provinces between the Indus and the Caspian Sea, under Seleukos Nikator and Antiochus I wrote an account of those countries including India which was often cited by Strabo who commended his veracity and also by Eratosthenes, the President of the Alexandrian Library (296-240 B. C.) who was the first to raise Geography to a science.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien visited India in the fifth century A.D., and left a valuable record of his observations about the government and social conditions of the Gangetic provinces during the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. He was followed two centuries later by Yuan-Chwang, the prince of pilgrims, whose sojourn in India lasted for fifteen years and covered almost every part of the country. His work contains important records of the political, religious and social conditions of India during the time of Harsha Vardhana (606-648 A.D.). A generation later a third Chinese pilgrim I-tsing visited India and left a record of his observations.

The Muslim scholar Alberuni (1000 A.D.) who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni and studied Sanskrit and Hindu social custom and religions wrote an interesting and scholarly account of India in his famous book *Tabkik-i-Hind*.

C. ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological evidences are of three kinds. (1) Monumental, (2) epigraphic and (3) numismatic. The monumental evidence consists of ancient buildings, images, and other antiquities. Thanks to the Indian Archaeological Department happily inaugurated by the late Lord Curzon, quite a number of sites have been excavated and large number of materials of historical value discovered. Among the important sites of excavations are Mohenjo-daro (Sind), Harappa, Taxila (Punjab) Mathurā, Kosam, Sārnāth, Kasia and Sahet-Maheth (U.P.); Pāṭaliputra, Nālandā, Rājgir (Bihar); Sāñchi and Barhut (C.I.); Agadi-Lakshmaneśvara, Vanavāsī, Pattadakal, Chitaldroog, Talkad, Halebid, Māski, etc., in the South. Besides, Provincial Governments and private societies have carried on excavations at other places. The walls of the ancient buildings, stone slabs on the gate walls and the images etc. generally contain inscriptions which are a direct contribution to history. Besides the structure of these buildings, the sculptures found in them is highly illustrative of the state of civilization of the time to which they belonged.

Epigraphic evidence consists of inscriptions on stone slabs pillars, rocks, copper-plates, walls of buildings, bricks, terracotta or stone seals and images. As a source of accurate history, inscriptions are the most valuable. For example, the pillar and rock edicts of Aśoka are a class by themselves as supplying the most authoritative source of the history of that great emperor. The votive inscriptions on the images of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, found in Sārnāth and on the site of ancient Kauśāmbari throw side-lights on the history of those two places. The Jhansi copper-plate inscription of Trilochanapāla of Kanauj shows the extent of his territory in the east. The famous Kara inscription (also a votive one) found on a piece of stone in the gateway of the ancient city of Kara definitely identifies the ancient city of Kauśāmbī with the village Kosam near Allahabad.

The evidence that is gathered from a scientific study of coins is called numismatic evidence. A coin bears on both sides generally the figure, the name and the date of the author of the coin.

The earliest coins used in India are punch-marked coins which, however, do not contain any names or date but mere symbols and marks punched on both sides of them. Vincent Smith and Rapson held that these coins represented a private coinage. The former holds that they were issued by guilds and goldsmiths with the permission of the ruling powers and that the numerous obverse punches were impressed by different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed, and the reverse marks were the signs of the approval by the controlling authority. Prof. Rapson thinks that the obverse marks were the private marks of the money changers, and the reverse marks denote the locality in which the coins were issued. Recent researches have, however, proved that the punched coins constituted a regular public authority. A few punch-marked coins in Pāṭaliputra have been ascribed by Dr. Jayaswal to the age of Chandragupta Maurya.¹ A large number of coins bearing legends on both sides belonging to Indo-Bactrian kings have been found in Taxila, which have helped scholars to fix their chronology. Thanks to a large number of hoards discovered and the coins collected and preserved at several government museums, municipal museums and in the cabinets of private collectors, the scholars have a rich and plentiful source to make use of in order to construct the history of ancient India.

III

PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The Indus Valley Culture (c. 3500 B.C.)

Our remarks on the introduction of the early history of India will not be complete unless we say a few words on the recently discovered archaeological proofs of the pre-historic Indus-Valley culture. Antiquities of pre-historic culture discovered in the pre-historic groves at Nāl, in the Kalat State of Baluchistān about 1926 testify to the existenc of a culture on the borders of India

¹ J.R.A.S. Centenary Supplement, J.B.O.R.S., 1919., 17; 463; Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India.

of about 3000 B.C. The collection comprises a bunch of copper implements, beads and beautiful groups of painted pottery and vessels. The culture represented by these objects is somewhat different from the one discovered at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and shows greater affinity with the painted fabrics of Persia and Mesopotamia. Those antiquities are housed in the Quetta Museum. The two important sites excavated in recent years which have yielded rich results revealing a high stage of civilisation and culture of a people living in the Indus valley in pre-historic times are Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The type and time of civilisation as revealed by the materials discovered in both places are almost identical and both places exist in the same belt of the Indus valley. Harappa is in the Montgomery district of the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro is on the lower Indus in the Larkana district of Sind. The publication of three magnificent illustrated volumes by Sir John Marshall, the late Director-General of Archaeology, containing an account of the discoveries of Mohenjo-daro, reveals that more than 5000 years ago, a magnificent city built on scientific plans stood there. The date has been hit upon by the discovery of a seal there which is identical with a Mesopotamian seal of c. 3500 B.C. The houses were built of baked bricks and mud. The streets were laid out in regular order that might compare favourably with those of a modern city. Most of the houses had a well for domestic purposes and were fitted with bath-rooms. The city had a good drainage system which as the pictures show led from individual houses to the back streets and from the back streets by cross drains to the main roads along which many deep drains ran out of the city. The structure, size and plan of the houses show a high standard of life. That the social and the political life of the people was highly developed is proved by the discovery of the remains of many public buildings and of a high-pillared hall which was perhaps used as a place of assembly to transact business of state.

The religion of the people seems to be iconic, the image of Śiva taking the place of honour. The worship of Phallic emblems—the *liṅga* and the *yoni*—also prevailed. Terracotta figures with elaborate head-dress and wearing ornaments such as necklaces and ear-

rings represent some female deity. There are a number of instances of animal worship represented by numerous seals, sealings, terracotta figurines and images. A semi-human and semi-divine creature recalling the Sumerian god Eukidu and the half-human and half-animal forms of the Nāgas fall under this category. There are also evidences of the existence of tree worship and sun worship in Mohenjo-daro.

That the people made domestic use of cattle, sheep, poultry, buffalo, camel, elephant and deer, and that they were familiar with such animals as tiger and monkey is proved by the finding of numerous seals containing the figures of those animals. The discovery of terracotta vessels containing grains proves that the people of the Indus valley cultivated wheat and barley. Ornaments of various sorts discovered during the excavation prove that they knew the use of gold, silver, copper, and lead. They also used ornaments made of agate, ivory, bone and shells, and garments woven of cotton and wool. This shows that they were not only civilized but a wealthy and prosperous community.

That the people were also intensely religious is proved by the discovery of a number of beautiful temples still preserved in fine shape, which they used as places of worship of the Mother-Goddess and the three-headed Śiva.¹

Weapons of warfare used by them were spears, axes, bows and strings. The same kind of weapons we find mentioned in the R̥gveda Saṁhitās to have been used by the R̥gvedic Aryans. But the sword and defensive armour such as breast-plate or helmet which were used by the R̥gvedic Aryans were probably not used by the Indus valley people, as none of them has yet been discovered at Mohenjo-daro. That the people were alive to the importance of play and pastime of their children is proved by the discovery of innumerable toys of various kinds—dolls, whistles, rattles, toy-carts, tiny grain vessels and water-jugs etc. The discovery of a large number of dice shows that they were fond of gambling.

¹A seal portrays the figure of a three-faced male god, seated *yogī*-like, with animals on either side. Scholars interpret this god as the proto-type of the historic god Śiva.

Among the notable discoveries are numerous seals bearing inscription of pictographic characters like what were used in Proto-Ilam and Sumeria. The beautiful figures of animals, such as bulls, buffaloes and unicorns of these seals testify to the high degree of perfection attained by these people in the art of engraving. These seals have yet remained a puzzle for scholars who have not yet been able to decipher them. Sumerian scholars like Langdon, Smith and Gadd, though engaged for a long time at the task, have made but little progress towards decipherment. Among the Indian scholars, Dr. Pran Nath of the Benares Hindu University asserts that he could by now have completed the decipherment according to the key he had prepared by a comparative study of the Indus, proto-Elamite¹ and Cretan scripts. He says that the Indus script is of Sanskrit origin and in a series of meetings he addressed in Allahabad in 1932, in one of which the writer had the honour to preside, the learned Doctor demonstrated on the canvas decipherment of some of the Indus symbols with the help of his very clever and interesting syllabury. The world, of course, has not yet accepted his theory of the Sanskrit origin of the Indus-valley script or his method of decipherment as correct. On the satisfactory decipherment of the script depends the solution of the problem whether the Indus-valley civilisation as revealed by the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa excavations is Indian or foreign. If it is the latter, it is Sumerian² and is the relic of another temporary phase of foreign conquest and settlement like that of the Greeks in North-Western India, and of the Arabs in Sind. If it is the former, it is to be linked with the Dravidian culture and history of India rather than with the Aryan, and the task of the indologists would be to find the missing links. There are weighty reasons, however, in favour of connecting it with the Dravidian civilisation in India than with the Aryan.³

¹ Belonging to pre-historic Ilam or Western Persia.

² Belonging to Sumeria or Lower Mesopotamia.

³ With the discovery of Mohenjo-daro the late Prof. Rakhaldas Banerjee's name is to be specially associated. He, as the Archaeological Superintendent of the Western circle, was the first man to hit the mound and start its excavation which was later continued by Sir John Marshall, personally.

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE

There is hardly any country in the world which can boast of its people being of one type. India is no exception. Broadly speaking, the physical characteristics belonging to the various groups of human families, viz., the Negro (Black), the Mongolian (Yellow), the Caucasian (White) are visible in India.

Before the advent of the Aryans, India was inhabited by a people who as usual passed through the different stages of early human progress—the old Stone Age (Palaeolithic), the New Stone Age (Neo-lithic), the Iron and Copper Age (Chalcolithic). They were the earliest people of India known to us. In the old Stone or Palaeolithic Age, men lived by hunting or on jungle produce, and their weapons were made of rough stone, sticks or bones. Use of metals was unknown to them.

In the next stage of advance, these men began to build well-shaped and highly polished stone implements of various forms to serve different purposes. At this age, known as Neolithic, they learnt how to make fire and pottery, and cook their own food. Although the new Stone Age was distinctly the pastoral age of human advance, the Indian Neolithic men cultivated the land, used metal tools and gold ornaments. They also buried their dead and constructed tombs, usually surrounded by stone circles, specimens of which have been found by Mr. Cockburn in Mirzapur District.¹ Hundreds of such tombs containing iron objects found in the South probably belong to the early iron age. The custom of cremating the dead adopted by the Hindus is evidently the result of Brāhmanical influence. The use of gold by the Neolithic settlement existed at Maski, in the Nizam dominions, where gold-mine shafts are the deepest in the world [Ib.]

¹ V. Smith—Oxford History of India, p. 3.

In the next stage, iron and copper tools replaced stone implements. But in this respect, there is a difference between south and north. In South India, stone tools were superseded directly by iron without any intermediate step; in North India, the metal first used for tools, harpoons, swords and spear-heads was copper, and iron followed it. The Stone and Iron Age men of India offered a dogged resistance to the invading Aryans and were ultimately overpowered by them. They are now represented by the Kols, the Bhills, Santahls, Mundās, Oraons, and other sub-nosed and dark-skinned isolated jungle tribes found in various parts of Northern and Southern India with little or no mixture of outside blood. They have kept up their primitive form of worship, and speak a language which is utterly different from the Indo-Aryan languages. The manner of their living in the fastnesses of hills and the depths of jungles and their occupations of hunting, pasturage and crude agriculture are a distinct relic of their Palæolithic or Neolithic forefathers, though in the matter of weapons of hunting, there has been a slight improvement. They now use bow and arrow and long lances, evidently adopted from the Aryans. It is believed that they belong to the Negro or Black family of mankind.

The members of the widespread group now generally known as Dravidian were also the people who lived in India before the advent of the Aryans. Their descendants are now represented by Tamil, Telegu, and Canarese speaking peoples of the Tamil land in the Southern Peninsula. It has not yet been definitely settled whether the Dravidians were the aborigines of India or had come into India from outside long before the coming of the Aryans. Some scholars think that a tribe living in the mountainous regions of Baluchistān known as the Brāhūis, speaks a tongue similar to the Tamil speeches mentioned above. They are also of opinion that the same Dravidian Brāhūis have undoubted similarity with the Sumerian ethnic types. From these ethnic and linguistic analogies they conclude that the Dravidians originally belonged to Western Asia and invaded India through

Baluchistān in pre-historic times. On the other hand, some scholars still hold that the Dravidians originally belonged to India and had spread through Baluchistān to Western Asia.¹

Even though there is still some doubt as to their original home, there is none that they had developed a high civilization in India before the coming of the Aryans and that they predominated both in Northern and Southern India. Dravidian influence is also seen in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. Vedic hymns are replete with facts about the dogged resistance that the Dravidians offered to the Aryans in North India. In the South, they evidently lived undisturbed for a considerable length of time to be able to consolidate their civilization and culture which still exists there.

Among the earliest immigrants to India were the members of the Mongolian family from China. Though they came to

India partly through Tibet down the valley of
The Mongolian Element. Brahmaputra, and partly through Burma down the valleys of the Mekong and the Irravadi, their descendants are now seen settled in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Manipur and also in the districts of Assam and Bengal. Burma's population is largely of the Mongolian stock.

The next wave of immigrants into India was that of the tall, fair-skinned Aryans. They belonged to the great Caucasian stock of human race from which the present

The Aryans. people of Europe and of South and Western Asia are derived. Where their original home was is still in speculation. The late Lokamānya Tilak held that the original home of the Aryans was in the Arctic region, and others think that it was somewhere in Western Asia. A third view is that the Aryans originally lived in the regions now occupied by Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. Others again opine that their oldest habitation was the steppes of South Russia—the common borderland of Europe and Asia.

Wherever their original home may have been, it is certain that the movement of the Aryans was a wide one and took different

¹ Imp. Gaz. 1, p. 302, XIV, p. 300 Hall: The Ancient History of Near East (4th Ed.)

directions. Some branches of the family moved westward to Europe and became the parents of the Greek, Latin, Keltic, and Teutonic races to which most of the modern European nations trace their origin. Others moved towards the east and south-east. In course of their movement, some of them settled in the region now known as Persia and developed a civilization which is still to be seen in their descendants, the Parsis of India.¹ Another group crossed the Hindukush and entered India through the Khyber Pass and settled in the region now covered by the North-Western Frontier Provinces and the Punjab. There they lived for a considerable time and composed at least the earliest of the four Vedas, before they moved further south and east down the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Muslims of the N.W.F. Province are the descendants of the Aryan settlers there. The bulk of the Muslims in the rest of India are converts from Hinduism and contain Aryan blood.

¹ The sons of the original Aryan settlers in Persia were driven from their homeland by the Arab invaders and found an asylum in India.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT ARYAN SOCIETY

I

THE EARLY ARYAN SOCIETY AS FOUND IN THE RIGVEDA

Everything that we know about the ancient Aryans in India is from their sacred literature, the Vedas. R̥gveda, the earliest of four Vedas, is a mine of information about the political, social and religious life of the Indo-Aryans settled in the Punjab. Scholars differ as to the age of the composition of the R̥gveda. The first writer on the subject Max Müller fixes the age of the composition of R̥ik Saṁhitās between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and that of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads between 800 and 600 B.C. Mr. Jacobi and Lokamānya Tilak, on the other hand, date its composition much earlier on astronomical grounds. Jacobi holds that its composition began in 5000 B.C. and Tilak traces it further back to 6000 B.C. Dr. M. Winternitz, the latest authority on the subject, says that the Vedic period extends more probably to 3000 B.C.¹ Though it is not possible at this stage to be certain as to the date, the period starting from 3000 B.C. may be accepted as a safer and sober approximation to truth in the midst of all controversies, as the time when the R̥ik-Saṁhitās began to be composed.

The geographical area² recognised in the R̥gveda Saṁhita is confined to the N.W. Frontier of India and the Punjab. Having entered India by the Khyber route, they spread out as far east as the country round the now extinct river, the Sarasvatī, south of the modern Ambala. It is during this stage of their initial settlement in this country that the Indo-Aryans composed the R̥ik-hymns.

¹ Winternitz, Vol. I; Calcutta University, 1927, p. 258.

² Rivers, mountains, animals.

That they passed through Afghanistan on their trek to India is clear from the mention in the *Ṛik-saṁhita* of the *Kubhā* (Kbul), the *Suvāstu* (Swāt), the *Krumu* (Kurram) and *Gomaṭi* (Gomal).

The reparian boundary of the country is the river *Sindhu* (Indus) from which India derived its name. The Indus was the natural outlet to the sea, receiving in its flow the waters of the Punjab. The five rivers from which the Punjab derived its name and which ultimately all unite to join the Indus are named in the *Ṛigveda*. They are the *Vitastā* (Jhelum), the *Asiknī* (Chenāb), the *Parushnī* (the *Rāvi*), the *Vipāś* (Beas) and the *Śutudrī* (the *Sutlej*). Another river which was mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* but which in the later period was known to bury itself in the sands was the *Sarasvatī*. The entire Indo-Aryan settlement in the country during this period thus extended from the N.W. Frontiers to the *Sarasvatī* in the *Ambala District*. This part of India, the region of the first Aryan settlement in this country, was known, in later times as the sacred land of *Brahmāvarta*. In the period of the later vedic and *Brahmaṇa* period the Aryan settlement was further expanded to include the entire region from the foot of the *Himālayas* to the *Narbadā* and was named *Aryāvarta*, and the region south of the *Narbadā* was called *Dakshinā patha*.

A. POLITICAL CONDITION

The *Ṛigvedic* Aryans lived in tribes. Each tribe was composed of several families. The family was the unit of society.

The eldest male member of the family ruled the Patriarchal family as its head. The family was joint and fairly big. This is proved by the mention of numerous relations within the family fold which occurs, again and again in the *Ṛigveda Saṁhitās*, viz., *Jñāti*, *Jamī*, *Sajāta*, *Sabandhu* etc. The Vedic Aryan family was essentially of the patriarchal type. 'Pitṛi' was the common name for father. The word is derived from the Sanskrit root 'Pā' to protect; the

eldest male member of the family was the father of the family in the sense of being its master and protector. He conducted the family worship, disposed of the family property, arranged marriages and settled family disputes.

Several families composed a tribe. The names of several tribes occur in the *Ṛik Samhitās*, e.g., the Bharatas, Matsyas, Kṛivis, Tritsus, Yadus, Purus, Anus, etc. Each tribe was ruled either by a hereditary king or by an elected chief. Where the chief was elective, the heads of the families assembled in a *Samiti* to elect him. Ability to lead the tribe in war was the guiding qualification for election. The tribes were often at war with one another.

Enmity with the Dravidians was, however, a bond of unity among the different tribes who often united to fight the enemy.

The hymns of the *Ṛigveda* are indeed full of references to the internecine wars among the Aryan tribal kings and chiefs.¹ But they had a common language and common social and religious observances. The accounts of these wars among themselves or with the non-Aryans throw light on the mutual relations of the Indo-Aryan tribes, their alliances and disputes, their marches across the rivers, their worships, sacrifices and prayers on the field of battle.

There were constant wars between the Indo-Aryans and the Dravidians in *Ṛigvedic*² and later Vedic periods, which witnessed their settlement in the Punjab and expansion into the Indo-Gangetic valleys. The Dravidians offered a dogged resistance to the Aryan invaders who because of their better weapons, better organisation and freshness of vigour prevailed over the enemy. The Dravidians, though defeated, did not give in all at once. They retreated but hung around in fastnesses and forests, plundered the village of the Aryans and stole their cattle. Thus they fought for centuries as they retreated. They interrupted the religious

¹ The battle of the ten kings on the Parushṇī between the Bharata King Sudās and the ten allied tribes.

² The battle of the Jumna between Sudās and the three non-Aryan tribes, the Agas, the Śigrus and the Yakshas under a King, Bheda.

sacrifices of the conquerors, despised their 'bright gods' and plundered their wealth. But the Aryans conquered in the end; the area of their civilization widened; waste lands and jungles were reclaimed and dotted with smiling villages and towns. Many Dravidians submitted and lived in the Aryan society as *dāsas* or slaves. Many moved to inaccessible parts and retained their independence.

The Aryans fought on foot or on horseback. Small chariots of the capacity of carrying a driver and the fighting man were used. There are numerous references to arms and weapons in the hymns, such as, armours and helmets as defensive weapons and javelins, swords, battle-axes, bows and arrows as offensive weapons. King was the leader in war. Priests often accompanied him to pray and to officiate in sacrifices. The king and the nobles fought on chariots. The common people fought on foot. There are references to sling-stones being employed. The warrior wore a coat of mail and helmet and a band and arm-guard. The bow was drawn to the ear; the arrow had a reed-shaft and the tip was either of horn or metal. Poisoned arrows were sometimes used. Banks of rivers were often the spots chosen for battle. The famous battle which Sudās, the Bharata king, fought against the League of the Ten Tribes—usually known as the battle of Ten Kings, was fought on the banks of Parushñī (Mod. Rāvi). He also fought battles on the Vipāś (Beās) and Śutudrī (Sutlej).

It appears that Ṛigvedic kings, at a later stage, were normally hereditary. We can clearly trace that the royal Bharata king was the son of King Divodāsa. But it must be noticed that the power of even a hereditary king was not without restraint. The *Samiti* which elected tribal chiefs also acted as a check on the king's power. The *Sabbā* functioned as Kings' Court of Justice. The king was the tribe's highpriest, its leader in war, its lord, 'Viśpati' or lord of Viś. The king's chief officers were the Senānī (Senāpati) and the Purohita. The purohita had great influence with the king as the story of Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha in relation to the King Sudās shows. The Grāmaṇī is often mentioned as an important officer. The

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and Sabha.

king behaved in a constitutional manner through the Samiti and Sabhā. The former was the national assembly of the whole people, the latter, the council of elders. The Samiti had no regular sessions like modern Parliaments but was called on special and important occasions, e.g., king's consecration, deliberations on war and peace. In this there is some analogy between the Vedic Samiti and the tribal assemblies described by Tacitus. That the Vedic Samiti continued to function in a more or less modified form through the Mantriparishad in the Hindu monarchical system is clear from many references in later Sanskrit literatures. Kauṭilya, for instance, speaks of such assemblies, the Mantriparishad, which the king occasionally called along with the Mantrins or the inner Council of ministers. The R̥gvedic Sabhā, according to Ludwig, was a constant body of the Maghavan̥s or the great men of the tribe.¹

B. SOCIAL CONDITION.

The advent of the Aryans is a notable event in the history of India. The bulk of the people of India belong to the Aryan stock. The Aryans soon spread their language, religion, and custom which provided the basis for the development of Hindu culture. The Aryans, however, had no easy task before them. Their advance into the country was doggedly resisted by the Dravidians. But due to their superior weapons and organization and also perhaps due to climatic reasons, they ultimately prevailed over the people of the soil who either submitted to the foreigners or retired in independence into the fastnesses of hills and depths of forests. Gradually, the Aryans, as a result of more intimate contact with the Dravidians, adopted many elements of their culture and civilisation in their order. The Hindu culture which was ultimately developed thus shows some Dravidian influence. At the same time the Tamil or Dravidian influence which still exists in the South was largely modified by Sanskrit culture and civilisation.

¹Ludwig, *R̥g*. Vol. II, p. 253.

The R̥gvedic Aryans lived in villages. The headman of the village (Grāmaṇī) represented the village in its relation to the broader life of the kingdom or tribal territory. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the Vedic Aryans, as it is of their descendants even at the present time. They irrigated their fields by means of wells and canals. Horses were used for ploughing. Wheat and barley were the principal produce and rice seems to have been then unknown. Every considerable Aryan village had its artisans in those days as now. We have frequent mention in the R̥ik Saṁhitās of the construction of the carts and chariots, metal arms, ornaments of gold and silver, such as, necklaces, breast-plates, bracelets, anklets, and gold crowns. Metals were also used extensively for the manufacture of domestic utensils.

Caste distinction had not yet developed. The R̥gvedic Aryans were still one united social body and bore the name of Viśaṇ or the people. It was in the later Vedic period after the composition of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the consequent introduction of elaborate forms and ceremonies in worships that a new class of men, the Brāhmins came into existence to perform the sacrificial worship according to the elaborate rules of the *Brāhmaṇas*. But in the R̥gvedic age every householder was the priest of his family, gave offerings, and libation and recited the sacred hymns. Life was simple. People wore simple dresses and ate simple food which consisted of wheat, millet, pulse, vegetables, milk, ghee, curd and honey. Sacrificial meat and a kind of liquor called *Soma* occasionally formed part of the menu. Among their pastimes were chariot-racing, gambling at dice, music and dancing.

Woman was held in honour and respect. Unlike the other primitive societies, the Indo-Aryans held marriage as a sacred tie. Polygamy was unknown among the humbler folk, and was generally confined to the royal and richer classes. The unhealthy custom of child marriage and the seclusion of women behind the *parda* were unknown. The name *Sahadbarminī* given to the wife of the householder testifies to her honoured position in

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society. The Hindu wife still retains that honoured name, but has lost the freedom enjoyed by her sister in the Vedic age, partly due to the selfishness of man and partly due to many extraneous circumstances. Women in the Vedic age prepared the Soma libation and joined their husbands in sacrifices, whether private or public. The woman had a considerable authority in the family, as she has to-day, and took her share in the religious rites and worship and exerted a benign influence in the household. Female education was not neglected. There were learned ladies like Viśvavārā, Lopāmudrā and Ghoshā, Sikatā Nivāvarī, who even composed the mantras and rose to the rank of Ṛishis.⁴ From a long hymn, virtually one of marriage ritual, we get a glimpse of the position of the newly married woman in her husband's family:

The bridegroom says : " May the Lord of creatures bring children unto us ; may Āryaman keep us united until old age. Enter auspiciously thy husband's home, O bride, and bring blessing to our men and our cattle".

" Bear sway, O bride, over thy father-in-law and thy mother-in-law ; be as queen over thy husband's sister and thy husband's brothers." (Rig, X. 85, 43 and 46).

We find no sanction in the Rigveda of the custom of *satī*. Widows could remarry after the death of their husbands and girls when unmarried obtained a share of the paternal property.

C. RELIGIOUS CONDITION

By referring to the first, second and seventh maṇḍalas of the Rigveda, we can form an idea of the kind of religion the Rigvedic Āryans had. It was the worship of nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The first Āryaman, in his child-like simplicity, looked upon the bright, the beautiful, the grand and terrible aspects of nature as so many gods with superhuman powers of doing good or evil to man. Hymns of both admiration and propitiation thus spontaneously poured forth from the lips of the sage-poets, and were chanted by the early Aryans in their sacrificial worship of the gods which were but different phenomena of nature. They (Nature-gods) received different names. Dyaus,

⁴ Rig. I, 179, V. 28, VIII. 91, IX. 81, X. 39—40.

the bright sky, which holds the sun, the moon, the stars, and the cloud; Prithvī (earth) that feeds the creation by yielding the crops, Agni (fire) which has the power to consume everything, Indra, the Lord of rain and thunder, the beautiful Ushas (dawn) which dispels gloom and brings light and life to all creation, were the deities of the Aryans. Of the goddess Ushas, a most popular deity among the Vedic Aryans, there are some very beautiful hymns; we give below the free translation of some of these hymns:

“With beautiful wealth for us drawn forth, O Ushas, daughter of heaven; with plenteous affluence . . . O brilliant goddess thou liberal Ushas.” (Rig. 1, 48, 1).

“Here comes Ushas, like a beautiful young damsel who is full of enjoyment.” (Rig. 1, 48, 5).

“All creation bows to her manifestation as the fair one brings light. The rich daughter of Heaven draws away the hatred and draws away the godless enemies”.

“Come hither Ushas, daughter of Heaven, and shine with delightful brightness, bringing unto us plenteous prosperity and drawing at the horns of sacrifices.” (Rig. 1, 48, 8.)

“Even the winged birds, Fair One, and the quadrupeds go forth from the confines of heaven to meet thee, O Ushas, at thy hour of arrival.” (Rig. 1, 48, 6.)

Indra, the god of rain and thunder is more frequently invoked, as being the most useful as also the most fearsome of the gods. His thunder which pierces the cloud to produce the rain also smites the evil-minded and the sinner. He is worshipped in admiration of his goodness and for propitiation of his wrath. His aid is invariably invoked to help the Āryaman to destroy the enemy. As illustration, we give below some hymns on Indra:

“Indra is our friend and ally with his powerful mace against our enemies.” (Rig. 1, 7, 6.)

“O, bestower of all our good, thou givest rain by piercing the clouds. Thou hast never refused our prayer.” (Rig. 1, 7, 6).

“O, Indra, we are well-armed because we are protected by thyself. We shall conquer the enemy with your help”. (Rig. 1, 8, 3-4).

Varuṇa, the sky-god of righteousness, is another very important deity. The hymns addressed to him are sublime in thought and highly ethical in tone :

“ O Varuṇa, with an anxious heart, I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men to make the enquiry ; the sages have all said to me, ‘Varuṇa is displeased with thee.’

“ O Varuṇa, for what deed of mine dost thou wish to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper ? O thou of irresistible power, declare it to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration to thee.

“ O Varuṇa, deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our person. O royal Varuṇa, deliver Vasishṭha-like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen-animal.

“ O Varuṇa, all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray. Sin is begotten even in our dreams.

“ Freed from sins, I will serve as a slave, the god Varuṇa, who fulfils our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant ; may the Ārya god bestow on us knowledge. May the deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth.” (Rig. VII. 86).

Among the deities are also found Aditi, the limitless light of the sky, Vāyu, the wind, and Maruts or the storm gods, etc.

The R̥gvedic Aryans did not, however, rest content with simple nature worship. The evolution of the conception of God found in the R̥gveda is unique for this reason. From a childlike admiration of the powerful thunder or the beautiful dawn, the Ārya mind learns to distinguish between the smaller gods of Nature and the great Creator. The R̥gvedic Aryans realised sooner than their western compatriots, the Greeks, the noble truth that God exists and that He is the Father and Creator of all creation in the universe. In some of the latest hymns of the R̥gveda we get a glimpse of this sublime conception of the supreme Deity which found a clearer expression in the Upanishads. We quote below some hymns from the last (Xth) maṇḍala of the R̥gveda :

“The all-wise and all-seeing Father first created these worlds in their form. Their ends were then firmly fastened and the sky and the earth were separated and extended.

“Great is the All-Creator ; He creates all, He supports all, He presides over all. The blest obtain the fulfilment of their desires where the Being dwells beyond the constellation of the seven Rishis.

“The Father Who made us, Who knows the races and all things. He is one, being the same in many gods. Others wish to know Him.” *Rigveda X*, 82.¹

II

THE LATER VEDIC PERIOD

The later Vedic period is the name given to the period when the three later Veda-Saṁhitās, namely, the Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā the Sāmaveda-Saṁhitā and the Yajurveda-Saṁhitā, as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads of all the four Vedas were composed, for it should be remembered that quite a long time elapsed between the composition of the *Rigveda-Saṁhitā* and the other three Veda-Saṁhitās. The composition of the Brāhmaṇas of the *Rigveda-Saṁhitā* was about the same time as the Saṁhitās of the other three Vedas were composed. Not much time elapsed between the composition of the later Veda-Saṁhitās and their Brāhmaṇas. During this period, the centre of civilisation shifted from the Punjab to eastward. The picture of the Aryan society which we get from the above sources is different from the *Rigvedic* society as described in the last section.

During this period, the Aryans had moved from the Punjab to eastward and settled in the Madhyadeśa or the Majjhimadeśa of the Pāli literature, which included the whole of the region now known as the provinces of Delhi, the U.P., and Bihar. The Kurukshetra became the centre of the later Vedic and Brāhmaṇical culture which afterwards shifted to a new centre, Videha. The Kurus and the Pañchālas,

¹The author has followed Mr. R.C. Dutt's translation of the Vedic hymns quoted above.

the Vasus and the Uśīnaras now occupy the place previously held by the Ṛigvedic tribes. The existence of a number of famous cities whose names occur in the later Vedic literature testify to a more settled form of civilisation and economic prosperity of the Aryans. In this period the hereditary character of the monarchy is clearly apparent. In one case, that of the Śṛiṇjayas, we hear expressly of monarchy lasting for ten generations. The term Rājaputra along with Rājanya is often referred to. The small tribal organisations or the little kingdoms of the Ṛigvedic Aryans gave place to large kingdoms with capital cities and brilliant courts. Parikshita, a king of the Kurus, was a great and good ruler whose reign according to a hymn of the Atharvaveda ushered a golden age in which the people flourished exceedingly, granaries were filled to overflowing and the husbandmen held a choice of beverage¹. His capital was Āsandīvant, better known as Hastināpura of the epics. His eldest son, Janamejaya, is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as a great conqueror who, we find in a later reference, held his court at Taxila and where the story of the great struggle of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus was related to him by Vaiśampāyana. This fact is considered as an evidence that Janamejaya conquered the country of Madra or the Central Punjab². Another Kuru King Satānika Sātrādīta is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as a great king, who defeated Dhritarāshtra, the prince of Kāśī, and took away his sacrificial horse. The Kuru kings ruled in Hastināpura for a long time with great majesty and power until their capital was submerged by a flood of the Ganges. After the calamity, Nichakshu transferred the Kuru capital to Kauśāmbī where the Kuru kings ruled for a long time³.

After the fall of the Kurus as a great power, the political supremacy and the centre of cultural activity shifted from Kurukshetra to Videha (North Bihar). In a passage in the

¹ CHI, vol. I, pp. 120-21; PHAI, p. 10.

² Ib., pp. 23—25 cf. Mbh., XVIII, 5, 34.

³ For a list of the successors of Nichakshu see the author's *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, p. 35.

Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa we find that while the Kuru princes are styled as Rājas, Janaka of Videha is styled as Samrāt¹. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka-Upanishad, he is called 'Samrāt'². This shows that the political life of the Aryans had undergone a complete change in the later Vedic period which more or less remained intact for ages to follow. With the growth of the king's power in this period, the king's entourage also increased.

The Taittirīya texts provide a list of great personages called Ratnins (jewels) who played an important part at the time of the king's consecration. They are the Purohita, the Rājanya, the Mahishi, the Vāvātā (favourite wife), The Parivṛiktī (discarded wife), the Sūta, the Senānī, the Grāmaṇī, the Kshattri (Chamberlain), the Saṃgrahītri (Treasurer) the Bhāgadugha (Collector of Taxes), the Akshavāpa (Superintendent of dicing.³) The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa has also the 'huntsmen' and the courier, while the Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā adds Takshan and the Rathakāra. In the Paṃchaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa we find mention of eight 'Viras' or heroes equivalent to the ratnins of the Taittirīya texts. They are Mahishī, Sūta, Grāmaṇī, Kshattri, Saṃgrahītri, the Brother, Son and Purohita. Brother and son are lacking in the Taittirīya texts. The Sūta is higher in the list here. He is at once a herald and a minstrel and for this reason perhaps he is declared in one passage as inviolable. The Grāmaṇī in the Rigvedic period was a military officer. At this epoch he was both a military and civil official. He presided over the city or village where the court was held. The post was the summit of the ambition of the Vaiśyas. In later years the Grāmaṇī formed the channel through which the royal power was exercised in the village.⁴

The later Vedic literatures reflect a complete change in the social and religious life of the Aryans. Society became more complex. The worship of nature-gods and simple sacrifices by the head of the family in the Rigvedic period were now replaced by the elaborate ceremonial and ritualistic worships conducted

¹ PHAI, p. 30.

² Ib.

³ Controller of gambling.

⁴ CHI. vol. I. P. 131.

by a special class of men who were known as Brāhmaṇs. They were so-called because they learnt the minute rules of the sacrificial worship elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas according to which those sacrifices were to be conducted. Thus the sublime and simple worship of the R̥gvedic Aryans was thrown into the background by the new forms of ceremonial worships in which the house-holders took only a vicarious part. This religious change also marked the beginning of the caste system which in the later Brāhmaṇic period tended to become hereditary. For the Brāhmaṇs being in custody of the spiritual life of the people tried to retain their supreme position in society by giving an authoritative explanation of their divine origin and introducing Śāstric injunctions to maintain their exclusiveness from the rest of the Aryans. Thus the later Vedic Aryan society was divided into three distinct classes of men, the Brāhmaṇs or the priests, Kshatriyas or the governing and fighting class, and the Vaiśyas which included the rest of the Aryans occupied in other spheres of activity. Besides, there was a fourth class of people composed mostly of the non-Aryan conquered tribes whom the Aryans called Śūdras. They were the Dāsas in the R̥gvedic times.

But while the Brāhmaṇs were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were more clearly treated in the Upanishads. Sects like the forest-hermits and wandering ascetics more or less opposed to Brāhmaṇism propagated the doctrines which were opposed to the mere sacrificial worships. The doctrines and philosophy of these forest-hermits are called *Āraṇyakas*. They are either appended to some of the latest Brāhmaṇas or form part of the oldest Upanishads. For instance, in the great Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa, the first third of the Book XIV is an *Āraṇyaka*, while the end of the book contains one of the greatest and the most important of Upanishads—the Bṛihadāraṇyaka-Upanishad. Both *Āraṇyakas* and Upanishads form the last part of the Vedas and are classed into one group from the nature of their subject. What the forest hermits hinted at,

the Upanishadic philosophers gave a clear and full exposition of, and that is to raise Hindu religious thought to a higher plane than the barren sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇas. The Upanishads gave an intellectual conception of God. "The universe is the Brahman but the Brahman is the Ātman. The Brahman is the power which manifests itself in all existing things, creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds. This infinite divine power is identical with Ātman, that which after stripping off everything external, we discern in ourselves as our real and most essential being, our individual self, the soul."¹ This conception of God and the relation between God and soul is a valuable contribution of the Hindu Upanishads to the spiritual thought of the world which was the basis of the later-day Vedāntic philosophy. The age of the Upanishads is marked by two things: Firstly it witnessed a revolt against the formalism and exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇical system—both against sectarianism and sacrificial worships. Secondly, the doctrine of the Upanishads marked a reaction against the superiority of the priestly class, and upheld the equality of the Kshatriyas with the Brāhmaṇs. The two religious movements—Jainism and Buddhism which were led by the Kshatriyas—were the outcome of that reaction. In modern times, the Brahma Samāja movement, and, to some extent, the Ārya Samāja movement drew their inspiration from the Upanishads and the R̥gveda-Saṁhitā, keeping clear of the degraded Brāhmaṇism. Secondly it marks the recovery of the lost position of women who had fallen into insignificance, even contempt, in the Smṛiti period. In the Upanishads, we find women such as Gārgī and Maitreyī taking an equal and intelligent part with men in the philosophic discussions.

The stories of the great epics are too well-known to be recounted here. The form in which we find these two epics now is the result of additions from time to time in their several recensions. The latest recension of the Rāmāyaṇa in the form in which we

¹ Winternitz (vol. I, p. 250) quoted from Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, translated by A.S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 30.

find it to-day was about 200 A.D., and that of the Mahābhārata about the same time or slightly later. The earliest date of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa is considered to be 200 or 300 B.C. and that of the Mahābhārata still earlier.¹ But both the epics speak of the time much earlier than the time of their earliest composition. The origin of the great epics lies in the gāthās or ballads of heroes, and of heroic events sung by bards in courts, on the occasions of religious sacrifices or great feasts. In remnants and fragments, some of them (these heroic songs) have been preserved in our two epics. For instance, the historical event of the great battle of Kurukshetra which is approximately dated between 1000 to 2000 B. C.² and which forms the central theme of the story of Mahābhārata must have been perpetuated in the ballads of the bards for scores of generations.

The epics introduce us to conditions considerably different from those in the Vedic periods, in the political, social and religious life of the Hindus. The Aryans had spread further eastward and such kingdoms as Magadha and Aṅga, not mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, are mentioned here. The political horizon grew larger than hitherto seen, and the ideal of universal dominion was there. The ideal of 'Samrāt' and 'Sāmrajya' of which we saw references in the Brāhmaṇas received a more concrete shape in the epic literature. The title of Samrāt was claimed by those rulers who could bring under subjection a number of smaller rulers—called merely 'rājans'! *Digvijaya* or the conquest of the quarters was the symbol of political supremacy, although it may not always have been accompanied with actual annexation of territories. It was enough if the conquered rājās acknowledged his supremacy. The assumption

¹ According to Winternitz the original epic Mahābhārata probably began in the 4th century B.C. and its transformation into the present compilation took place gradually by continuous additions until the end of the 4th century A. D. and the original Rāmāyaṇa was probably composed in the 3rd century B. C. by Vālmiki. Both the epics were composed on the basis of ancient ballads. (Cf. Winternitz, vol. I, pp. 454 and 475 and pp. 500—517.)

² Pargiter, *AIHT* pp. 179—83 ; Pradhan, *CAI* pp. 268—69.

of the title of Samrāt was usually emphasised by the performance of the rājasūya or aśvamedha sacrifices. The dependent king generally attended these ceremonies as feudal vassals and helped the Samrāt in his wars. Thus feudalism became fairly an established institution which remained to be an important factor in the Indian political state in the early and mediaeval India. The succession to the throne was hereditary and the eldest son as a rule succeeded to the throne. Exceptions were made in case the eldest son had any physical or mental defect. For instance, Dhritarāshṭra being born blind, the younger son Pāṇdu became king.

The caste system had become more definitely established. The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇs which was assailed in the Upanishads was re-established. A Samrāt or a Social condition. rājā had always a Brāhmaṇ minister who advised and guided the king. Sometimes, the Brāhmaṇ minister was also his spiritual *guru*. Everybody from prince to peasant was afraid of offending a Brāhmaṇ whose fire of wrath was capable of burning the offender to ashes. Probably the potency of this fire was much diminished by the time the laws of Manu were codified, for in them very heavy punishment such as burning alive is prescribed for offending a Brāhmaṇa, perhaps to make up for the loss of the power of his own fire to kill!

The position of women marked a slight deterioration from the Vedic age. Polygamy was almost a common affair among the royal and rich classes. The custom of *satī* of which we find no mention in the Vedic literature is seen practised here. The peculiar custom of polygamy, evidently a Mongolian custom, still observed by some tribes in Tibet and Indian borders of the Himalayan region, was introduced by the compilers of the Mahābhārata to explain certain episodes of the central story of the great epic, or as Dr. Winternitz remarks, 'to faithfully presume an old feature of the legend.'¹ An interesting form of marriage mentioned in the epics is *svayamvara* or self-choice of a husband by a princess from among the assembled suitors. That skill in

¹ Winternitz, vol. I, p. 337.

archery was highly esteemed in epic society is proved by the fact that the successful suitor had to prove his superiority over others in this sport.

New gods arose in this period which superseded the Vedic gods. The nature-gods of the Vedas took a subordinate position to the new gods and goddesses—Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Pārvatī. The doctrine of Karma and rebirth as well as the practice of tapasyā or meditation accompanied by physical tortures (severe asceticism) were prevalent in epic society.

Religious condition.

CHAPTER III

THE CASTE SYSTEM : ITS ORIGIN AND EVILS¹

At first the Aryans lived as one homogeneous people. We have seen that in the R̥gvedic Age, there were only two classes of people in society—the Aryans and Non-Aryans. We have seen how in the later Vedic Age, a new class of men arose called Brāhmaṇas whose duty was to perform the sacrificial worships according to the elaborate rules of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas and the priests were one and the same class. They being in custody of the spiritual work of society, their work was one of assiduous study to master the vastly elaborate rules and rituals of sacrificial worships and also of purity of conduct. Naturally, they acquired a position of lofty aloofness from the rest of the Aryan society who were more or less engrossed in mundane affairs. A distinction being thus made with regard to one class of work in society, distinctions in other spheres of work soon made their appearance and obtained places in society according to the nature and importance of the work. Next to the spiritual work, was the work of fighting and government, and those who did this work were known as Kshatriyas. The rest of the Aryans, engaged in odd jobs, *e. g.*, trade and agriculture etc., were called the Vaiśyas who obtained a lower position than that of the Kshatriyas. The fourth class of men who filled the Hindu society were called Śūdras whose duty was to serve the other three classes. The Śūdras were composed of aborigines of the land and being incorporated in the Hindu society occupied the lowest position.

Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas
and Śūdras.

¹ For further study of this subject see the author's Paper on the 'Origin and Development of the Caste System in India' [Indian Culture, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1946, pp. 177—191.]

This is the historical origin of the caste system which was in the beginning, as shown above, based on a division of labour. There was nothing wrong there, the division having been based on a scientific and rational ground. The wrong began when the division became hereditary on account of the selfishness of the priestly class who gave a fantastic and supernatural explanation of their origin and interpreted śāstric injunctions to perpetuate the hereditary superiority of their class. Rules were laid down in the Sūtras, a class of later Brāhmanic literature, that nobody could serve as a priest who was not born a Brāhman. In the early stages of hereditary caste, however, inter-marriages between the three upper castes took place. Even marriages of the upper caste with the Śūdras, though looked upon with disfavour, were not positively forbidden. *Strivratnam dushkulādapi*¹—was the *exceptio probat regulam*, permitting marriages of this nature. But with the progress of time, the rigidity of caste rules was hardened and the castes became totally exclusive of one another forbidding inter-marriages and inter-dining even among the three upper castes.

The number of castes did not remain four. With the growth of the complexity of society and the division of labour getting finer and finer, castes multiplied and out of them many sub-castes grew up with distinct divisions of work in society. The same distinctions and stiffness which marked the relations between the original four castes obtained in the later stages among the new castes and sub-castes.

The result is that, to-day, the Hindu society is literally split up into hundreds of hereditary castes and sub-castes maintaining social exclusiveness from one another. This is a very important cause of disunion and the consequent weakness in Hindu society. The pity is that although the division of work is not and cannot be strictly followed under the present-day conditions, the castes remain hidebound hereditary folds. For example, a Brāhman may run a shoe-shop and a washerman may work as a school master,

Evils of the caste system.

¹ A jewel of a bride even of a low caste.

yet the former will not take water in the latter's hands. In the eyes of the upper castes, a large number of lower castes and subjects are 'depressed.' Besides, those of the Hindu fold who are engaged as scavengers and skimmers of dead animals are untouchables, and no amount of washing will make them clean, worthy to be touched at any time and by any member of the higher caste or sub-caste. A mother works as a *Bhangi* (sweeper) for her children and a nurse acts as a *Bhangi* for her patient to keep the bed clean, and yet the hereditary Bhangis born as such who keep the whole society clean and sanitary are looked down upon, and because they are treated as untouchables and are not allowed to enter even a temple of god, they have lost the necessary impulse to cleanliness. For this their degradation the caste Hindus are responsible. This is an evil which is eating into the vitals of Hindu society. Political freedom has no meaning as long as this form of social tyranny exists.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS : JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

The sixth century B. C. was marked by two great religious movements in India, Jainism and Buddhism. Both these are reformation movements to purify Hinduism of some of its evils which had greatly degenerated it. Like Luther and Calvin, Mahāvira and Gautama Buddha protested against the corruptions that had crept into Hinduism. Jainism and Buddhism are thus protestant Hinduism as Lutheranism and Calvinism are Protestant Christianity.

The genesis of these two religious movements lay in the doctrines of the Upanishads. We have seen how in the later Vedic period when the cult of Brāhmaṇism was firmly established, priesthood was predominant, elaborate rituals and bloody sacrifices took the place of religion, there was a revolt against them, the first signs of which appeared in the Āraṇyakas and in the Upanishads. Both Mahāvira and Gautama Buddha drew their inspiration from the teachings of the Upanishads in starting their protestant movements and both of them belonged to the Kshatriya caste.

JAINISM

Mahāvira, the founder of the Jaina movement was born in Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī¹ about 540 B.C. The village probably now survives under the name of Basu-
Life of Mahavira. kuṇḍa. In that village lived a wealthy nobleman Siddhārtha, head of the Kshatriya clan called the Jñātrikas. Siddhārtha was married to the princess Triśalā, sister of Cheṭaka, the most eminent of the Lichchhavi prince and ruler of Vaiśālī. To them was born Vardhamāna, the future Mahāvira, King Bimbisāra of Magadha had married Chellanā, the daughter of Cheṭaka. Thus Mahāvira was related through

¹ Basrah, Modern Mujaffarpur, District Bihar.

his mother's people, the powerful Lichchhavis, with the mighty ruling dynasty of Magadha.

Mahāvīra received education in all branches of study and was married to Yaśodā, had by her a daughter who became the wife of *Jamālī*, a future disciple of Mahāvīra and the leader of the first schism of the Jaina Church. In his thirtieth year, on the death of his parents, Vardhamāna left his home and became an ascetic. He led a life of the hardest asceticism, physical pain and self-mortification. The following passage quoted from a short religious ballad in the *Āchārāṅga-sūtra* reveals in a graphic manner the depth of self-mortification undergone by Mahāvīra to reach the goal of salvation and which has a close bearing on the entire ethics of Jainism he preached to his followers :

“He wandered naked and homeless. People struck him and mocked at him—unconcerned, he continued in his meditations. In Lāḍha the inhabitants persecuted him and set the dogs on him. They beat him with sticks and with their feet, and threw fruits, clods of earth and potsherds on him. They disturbed him in his meditations by all sorts of torments. But like a hero in the fore-front of the battle Mahāvīra withstood it all. Whether he was wounded or not, he never sought medical aid. He took no kind of medicaments, he never washed, did not bathe and never cleaned his teeth. In winter he meditated in the shade, in the heat of summer he seated himself in the scorching sun. Often he drank no water for months. Sometimes he took only every sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth meal, and pursued his meditations without craving.”¹

During one of his visits to Nālandā he made the acquaintance of the ascetic Goṣāla Makkhaliputta, who attached himself to Mahāvīra for some years, but left him after six years to set up a religious order, calling himself a Tirthankara. His followers were known as Ājīvikas. This happened two years before Mahāvīra had reached his perfect enlightenment which he did in the thirteenth year of his asceticism at the age of forty-two. At this supreme knowledge and the consequent final deliverance from pleasure

¹ Translated by Jacobi (S.B.E., vol. 22. p. 70 ff.)

and pain he became known as Mahāvīra or Jina (the conqueror) and his followers became known as Nirgranthas, *i.e.*, free from fetters. The name Nirgranthas has now been superseded by the term Jainas.

Mahāvīra preached his religion for 30 years, and died at Pāvā near Rājagriha, at the age of 72 about 477 B.C.¹ He was thus a younger contemporary² of Gautama Buddha and survived

¹ Jacobi, *the Kalpasūtra*, p. 6, ff. cf. Charpentier, C.H.I. vol. I, p. 156.

The date of Mahāvīra is still in the realm of doubt. According to the Jaina traditions Mahāvīra's death took place 470 years after the beginning of the Vikrama era in 58 B. C. *i.e.* (470+58) 528 B. C. The reckoning is based on a list of kings and dynasties which are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B. C. But a correct chronological calculation is impossible from such a list which confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other Kingdoms, and places some of these kings as successive while they may have been actually contemporary. Further, both Jaina and Buddhist traditional accounts agree that both Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries of the great king of Magadha whom the Jainas call Kunika and the Buddhists. Ajātaśatru and he was on the throne only eight years before Buddha's death. Buddha died some time in the eighties of the fifth century B.C., 483 B. C. according to the system of chronology adopted by some, and 487 B. C. as adopted by me in this work as will be seen later. Therefore nearly fifty years would have elapsed between the *Parinirvāṇas* of the two teachers. Therefore if Mahāvīra died in 528 B. C. he could not have lived in the time of Kunika-Ajātaśatru. Charpentier, therefore, rightly rejects the traditional date and accepts B. C. 468 as the year of Mahāvīra's death which Jacobi had long ago suggested on the authority of the great Jaina author Hemchandra (12th century A.D.) who stated that at the time of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, 155 years had elapsed since the death of Mahāvīra. The date 468 B. C. is, however, arrived at on the assumption that Chandragupta Maurya's accession took place in 313 B. C. But as I have shown elsewhere (p. 114), the more probable date of Chandragupta's accession is 322 B. C. As such, the date of Mahāvīra's death, accepting the correctness of the statement of Hemchandra, comes to (322+155) 477 B. C. rather than 468 B.C.

² There is no doubt that Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries, as the synchronism of both in the Kunika-Ajātaśatru discussed in note 1 shows. Further, the Buddhists call Mahāvīra *Niggantha Nathaputta (stt) Nigrantha gñatriputrah*, Professor Jacobi rightly suggests that the teacher who is thus styled in the

him by several years. Like Gautama Buddha Mahāvīra moved from place to place on his preaching tours. We know from the *Kalpa Sūtra* that he spent his rainy seasons at Champā, Mithilā, Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī and Rājagṛiha. He frequently met with Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru with whom he was related. It is said that Buddha's close disciple Upālī was at first a Jaina and a resident of Rājagṛiha.

The teachings of Mahāvīra may be summed up as follows : Salvation may be obtained by freeing the soul from earthly bondage.

This can be done by means of 'right faith', 'right knowledge', and 'right action'—called the three jewels of Jainism. A man has a two-fold nature, earthly and spiritual; the former is perishable, the latter eternal and evolutionary. Good and bad deeds have their effects on a man's rebirth and ultimate salvation. Ahimsā or non-injury to animal life is the first principle of practical morality. The worship of the twenty-four 'Tīrthankaras' or Jinas,

sacred books of the Buddhists is identical with Mahāvīra. According to the Mugg. Nik. (Sutta 58) Niggantha Nāthaputta, the adversary of the Buddha, sends Prince Abhaya to the master to embarrass him with a very difficult question. This undoubtedly proves that he was a contemporary of Buddha, but died about a decade after the latter. The passage in the Buddhist Nikāya; however, claims that Mahāvīra (Niggantha Nathaputta by which name they call him) died *before* Buddha. (Dig. Nik. III pp. 117, 209; Magh. Nik. II, pp. 273 ff). This view goes against the accepted dates of the death of the two teachers; see also Charpentiers view on the question *Ind. Antq.* 1914, p. 177.

¹According to the hagiology of the Jains, there are 24 Tīrthankaras or 'preparers of the path', also called victors or Jinas of whom Rishabha was the first and Mahāvīra the last. In order of succession they were Rishaba, Agita, Sambhava, Avinandana, Sumati, Padmaprabhu, Śupārśva, Chandraprabhu, Pushpadhara, Śītala, Śrēāṇsa, Basupūjā, Vimala, Ananta, Dharma, Tandī, Kundu, Ava, Mallī, Manusubrata, Nami, Nemi, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra. Of the 23 Tīrthankaras before Mahāvīra, *Pārśva* alone, the immediate predecessor of the former, is assumed, on the authority of Professor Jacobi and others, to have been an historical personage, and the real founder of Jaina religion. He is said to have died 250 years before the death of Mahāvīra. Therefore he may have lived in the eighth century B. C. A chapter of the *Kalpasūtra* dealing with life of

of whom Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the latest, is a predominant feature of Jainism. It objects to the infallibility of the Vedas and condemns Brāhmaṇic practice of bloody sacrifices.

Jainism has thus so much in common with Buddhism that for a long time it was considered a part of Buddhism. But

on a closer examination a marked divergence between the two faiths in essential points may be found. Buddha at first sought freedom from

Jainism and Buddhism compared.

karman and rebirth in extreme self-torture; but he soon found, as we shall see later, that this was not the way to peace and consequently he did not enforce upon his followers the practice of extreme self-penance, but advised them to follow a middle-path—a simple life free from self-torture on the one hand, and luxury and self-indulgence on the other.¹ Mahāvīra, on the other hand, found his Enlightenment in the midst of his severest asceticism, and, therefore, did not hesitate to recommend nakedness, self-torture, and death by starvation as the surest means of reaching final annihilation. Both systems of faith advocate asceticism, but Jainism lays far more stress on it and all manner of cult-exercises. In Jainism as in Buddhism the goal of the ascetic is to make an end of pain, and as evil karma produces pain, the Jaina ascetic aims at exhausting all karma. Buddhism aims not at neutralising what has been done, but at destroying the vicious impulses that produce bad karma. No one but a Buddha can know how much unripened karma remains, but the question is necessary, for rebirth stops with the extinction of the cause of rebirth, the craving for existence. The Jaina

the Jinas tells us that Pārśva like all *Tīrthāṅkaras* was a Khastriya, and a son of king Aśvasena of Benares and his wife Vāma. He lived for thirty years as a happy and rich house-holder, and then became an ascetic. After 84 days of intense meditation, he attained perfect knowledge, and having lived for about 70 years in that exalted state of perfection, attained his final liberation, *Nirvāṇa*. In regard to his teaching, Pārśvanātha enjoined on his followers four great vows: not to injure life, not to steal, not to possess any property and to be truthful. To these four Mahāvīra added a fifth requisition viz., that of chastity.

¹ Cf. *Dhamma Chakka Pavattana Sutta*. See *infra* p. 53.

disciples make the claim of omniscience for their teacher and it is put in the form in which Buddha disclaimed it. The Jaina Sūtras¹ declare that Mahāvīra was 'all knowing, perceiving all things, he knew all beings of the universe, with all the gods, men and rebel gods; namely their coming, going, abiding, passing away, rebirth, the talk, conversation, and thoughts, of all things, of all living beings in the universe. In contrast to Buddha, Mahāvīra taught a very elaborate belief in soul. The Jains emphasise the commandment of Ahimsā far more than even Buddhism. Jainism has always remained a national Indian religion, whilst Buddhism developed into a world religion, being an actively missionary faith.

Mahāvīra undoubtedly received support from his royal relations—Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha in successfully founding the Jaina Church. His severe asceticism which has always been an attraction for Indian minds and his simple doctrines attracted followers. Of his eleven close disciples, or apostles known as Gaṇadharas or 'Heads of Schools' only one, Arya Sudharman survived him and became the Pontiff of the Jaina Church after the master's death. Nothing is known concerning the fortunes of the Jaina Church for about 150 years. According to the Jaina traditions Udāyin, the successor of Ajātaśatru, was a devoted Jaina. The Nandas were also probably Jaina as the Jaina books do not calumniate them. There is also the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription which records that King Khāravela of Kalinga recovered the idol of the first Jaina which the 'Nanda Rāja' had taken away from Kalinga. Chandragupta Maurya, a Brāhmaṇic Hindu throughout his reign, probably became a Jaina about the end of his life. A Jaina tradition associates Chandragupta with the Jaina pontiff Bhadrabāhu with whom he had retired to the South to take up asceticism according to Jaina rules, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son. A late inscription² (C. 900 A.D.) records that the summit of the Chandragiri (Mysore)

The Jain Church
and Canon.

¹ Cf. The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, pp. 15, 26.

² Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. I, p. 34.

is marked by the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta Munipati.

For certain facts *i.e.* the history of the Jaina Church from its inception to the fourth or third century B.C. we are indebted to the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra of Bhadrabāhu who was the sixth *thera* after Mahāvīra and was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya.

He is said to have died 170 years after Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa. Three different sections form the entire book, but it is doubtful if Bhadrabāhu is the author of all three. Section I contains the Jaina-

The Jain Kalpa-sūtra c. fourth century B.C.

charitra or the biographies of the Jinas. In it we get the names of all the twenty-three Jinas or Tīrthankaras who preceded Mahāvīra, of whom Pārśvanātha, the penultimate one, is said to have laid the foundations upon which Mahāvīra, who followed him about 250 years after, built up the Jaina Church. The main portion of the section is the biography of Mahāvīra, which is told in great detail. Section II of the Kalpa-sūtra consists of the Therāvalī, a list of schools (gaṇas) and their heads (gaṇadharas). The list goes far beyond Bhadrabāhu, hence could not possibly have been written by him. Section III contains the Sāmācharī or the Rules for the ascetics. Sudharman, the first *thera* died 20 years after his Master. His successor was Jambu who held the office for 44 years. After him passed three generations of pontiffs, and at the time of the last Nanda, the Jaina Church was ruled by two *theras*, Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Kalpa-sūtra.

These two were the last of the *theras* who perfected the 14 Puvvas (Sansk. Pūrvas), *i.e.*, the texts of the old Jaina scriptures which Mahāvīra himself had taught to his Gaṇadharas. Sambhūtavijaya is said to have died in the same year in which Chandragupta took possession of the throne. About that time a great famine

The first Jaina Council at Pataliputra: The Great Schism c. 300 B.C.

lasting for 12 years devastated the region of Bengal. Bhadrabāhu seeing that this evil would promote numerous offences against the ecclesiastical rules escaped to Karkāta with his followers. Many Jainas remained in Magadha under Sthūlabhadra, a disciple of Sambhūtavijaya. After the famine the disciples of Bhadrabāhu returned, but the teacher himself went to Nepal where he died

of penance. The monks who remained in Magadha convoked in the meantime a great council at Pāṭaliputra about 300 B. C. in order to collect and revise the scriptures. But since the Pūrvas or the older texts were known perfectly by Bhadrabāhu, Sthūlabhadra, who had gone to Bhadrabāhu in Nepal, was instructed on only ten Pūrvas, the canon established at Pāṭaliputra was a fragmentary one, and in it, to some extent, new scriptures took the place of the old. In the council the Jaina scripture emerged in the form of 12 Aṅgas or "limbs" out of the original 14 Pūrvas. When the followers of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, there was a great gulf made between those who had emigrated and those who stayed at home. The latter had grown accustomed to wearing white garments, whereas, the former, strictly following the teachings of Mahāvīra, still persisted in going naked. This is how the first schism came about which split the Jaina Church into the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, the earlier schism, referred to above (p. 45) and led by Mahāvīra's own son-in-law Jamālī being a minor one. The Digambaras refused to acknowledge the canon as it emerged in the council, holding that the 14 Pūrvas were lost.

In the course of time, the canon of the Svetāmbaras was reduced to a state of disorder, and was even in danger of being lost altogether. Hence, in the year 980 after the death of Mahāvīra (*i.e.*, about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.), a Council was held at Valabhī in Gujarat, presided over by Devardhī Kṣhamāśramaṇa, a Gaṇadhara, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The twelfth Aṅga had already gone astray at that time. This is why we find only eleven Aṅgas in the recension which has come down to us.

Unlike Buddhism, Jainism took deep roots in the soil of India, though it never attempted to spread its doctrines in and out of the country by an intense missionary activity like Buddhism. During the Maurya rule, Jainism lost the royal patronage of Magadha kings which it had hitherto enjoyed from the beginning.

The Second Jaina Council at Valabhī C. 512 A.D.

Influence of Jainism on India.

During that period, however, Jainism spread to western and southern India. Ujjain and Mathurā became the stronghold of Jainism. The large number of Jaina inscriptions found at Mathurā proves that it was a great centre of Jainism. A legend connects Ujjain as an equally great centre of the faith as early as the first century B.C. We find in the legend that Jaina saint Kālākāchārya was insulted by king Gardabhilla of Ujjain, who, according to various traditions, was the father of the traditional Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era. The insulted Jaina saint Kālākā went in his desire for revenge to the land of the Śakas, whose king was styled Sāhānusāhi (King of Kings), a title borne in Greek and Indian forms by the Śaka rulers of the Punjab in the first century B.C., and by the Kushāṇa rulers of about the same period whose coins bear the title of *Shao-nano Shao*.¹ Kālaka persuaded a number of Śaka satraps to invade Ujjain and overthrow the dynasty of Gardhabhilla. Some years later, his valiant son Vikramāditya recovered the throne of his ancestors. The legend contains the tradition of Śaka dominion in Western India which is a fact, and of the foundation of the Vikrama era (58 B.C.) which Vikramāditya probably inaugurated to celebrate his great victory over the śakas. The fact of the use of the Vikrama era by the Jains in the country of Mālwa, of which Ujjain was the capital, lends support to the close relation between the legend and the foundation of the era.² While Buddhism has almost disappeared from India, Jainism still flourishes in several parts of the country. It has been comparatively free from the hostility of rival faiths because of its non-missionary spirit. Among other reasons why it escaped destruction is its orthodoxy and its affinity to Brāhmanism in some respects. All parts of India to-day contain in more or less number the followers of Jainism, but the more important centres of the faith are Mathurā, Mālwa, Gujarāt Rājputāna and some districts of the South. The Jains are a rich

¹ Cf. *Daivaputra shāhi shāhānu shāhi* of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, applied to the Kushāṇa emperor. The modern form of the title is Shāhān Shāh.

² Prof. Rapson, however, argues [C.H.I. vol. I, p. 571 and p. 581] that Azes I is the founder of the era.

and prosperous community. Their temples display the wealth of the community in their rich and costly decorations. Hundreds of commodious Dharmasālās in all big cities and sacred places of India, schools and colleges, hospitals for men and beasts and many other charitable institutions testify to their munificent spirit.

BUDDHISM

But the movement which gave the greatest shock to Brāhmaṇism was started by Gautama Buddha. He was Life of Buddha. also a Kshatriya prince. His father was Suddhodana, the chief of the Śākya republican clan of Kapilavastu. His mother was Māyā, a princess of the neighbouring clan of the Koliyas. He was born *c.* 567 B.C.¹ in the village of Lumbini, a few miles from Kapilavastu, and which was perhaps used at that time as a suburban pleasance by the rulers of Kapilavastu. The sacred memory of his birth has been perpetuated by a beautiful monolithic pillar containing an inscription set up by Aśoka in *c.* 249 B.C. His mother having died a few days after his birth, he was brought up by his step-mother Mahāmāyā.

¹ There is a divergence of opinion as to the date of Buddha's death. One school holds *c.* 483 B.C., but I hold B.C. 487, as the year of the Parinirvāṇa on the grounds stated below :

The 'Canton Records' reveal 975 dots up to A.D. 489, supposed to have been started from the year of Parinirvāṇa, or at most one year after the great event. In the latter case one more dot is to be added to 975. In either case the date of the Parinirvāṇa comes to (975—489) 486 or (975+1—489) 487 B.C. The date (487 B.C.) agrees well with other independent evidences. Chandragupta's accession to the throne must have taken place sometime after the death of Alexander and the First Partition Treaty of Babylon in 323 B.C. and the Second Partition Treaty of Triparadisus in 321 B.C., in which there is hardly any mention of the Greek possessions West of the Indus. Justin [XV., 4] gives prominence to Sandrocottus as the genius 'under whose leadership the Indians threw off the last remnants of the Macedonian yoke'. This act of driving the Greeks beyond the Indus must have taken at least a year after he ascended the imperial throne and possessed himself of the wealth and the grand army left by the Nandas. Therefore his accession may be reasonably

From his boyhood, prince Siddhārtha, by which name he was called, showed signs of a contemplative turn of mind, and a deep compassionate nature. One day when his cousin Devadatta shot down a swan, the prince took possession of the wounded bird and claimed it as his own. "By what right do you claim it? It is mine by the laws of game", exclaimed Devadatta in wrath. "By the right of love and mercy—the highest of all rights, do I claim it," coolly replied the future Buddha, even though he was a mere lad in his teens.

Noticing in his son a great indifference to worldliness, the king married him to a beautiful and accomplished daughter of a Śākya noble and surrounded the young prince and his wife Yaśodharā with the choicest material of luxury and pleasure. But nothing could make him happy. The cause of his unhappiness was his realisation of the sufferings of Mankind due to old age, disease and death. So one day he left his home and everything behind and chose the life of a Sannyāsi to find a remedy for the ills of suffering humanity. This departure is known as the Great Renunciation which he accepted at the age of twenty-nine. He first became a disciple of a learned Brāhman and became learned in the śāstras and philosophy but found no satisfaction. He then led the life of an ascetic and practised the severest of penances which also failed to satisfy him. In this way he spent six years in fruitless efforts at finding the Truth. Then he sat in deep contemplation under a peepal tree near Gayā and found the

placed in c. 322 B. C. According to the Purāṇas he reigned for 24 years and his son Bindusara reigned for 25 years. Therefore Aśoka ascended the throne in c. 273 B.C. According to a passage in the Ceylonese chronicles four years elapsed between Aśoka's accession and coronation. Therefore Aśoka's coronation took place in c. 269 B.C.—a date which also agrees with another passage of the chronicles stating that Aśoka's consecration took place 218 years after the Parinirvāṇa. This places the date of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa in c. [269+218] 487 B.C. It cannot be placed at any rate after 486 B.C. on the basis of the Canton record even if the suggested reason for the absence of a dot is not accepted. All scholars have agreed to accept the traditional testimony as recorded in the Buddhist canonical books that the Buddha lived for 80 years. This brings the date of his birth to [486 or 487+80] c. 566 or 567 B.C.

Truth, the means of salvation from human sufferings. Since then he became known as the Buddha or the Enlightened at the age of thirty-five. The tree henceforth became known as Bodhi tree. He first repaired to the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares where he set the 'Wheel of Law' in motion or gave his first religious discourse, as a result of which five disciples joined him. This small beginning formed the nucleus of the great Buddhist Church or Order. For forty five years did the Buddha preach to the princes and peasants of India his message of salvation before he died at Kuśinārā in the district of Gorakhpur at the age of eighty in c. 487 B. C.

The philosophy of Buddhism is intensely rational. The first sermon of the Buddha which is embodied in the *Dhamma Cakka Pabattana Sutta* clearly states the essential doctrines of Buddhism. The four great Truths are : (1) Sorrow, (2) The Cause of Sorrow ; (3) The Remedy for Sorrow, and (4) The Path. Life is full of sorrow namely, old age, disease and death. The cause of this sorrow is birth which is again caused by desire for earthly things and material enjoyments which are incapable of satisfaction and therefore lead the individual from birth to rebirth. The cessation of this desire will remove the cause of this sorrow namely birth. This cessation of the desire can be achieved by following the Path which is the *Arya Ashtāngamārga* or the noble eight-fold path, namely (1) Right faith, (2) Right thought, (3) Right action, (4) Right speech, (5) Right means of livelihood, (6) Right endeavour, (7) Right remembrance, and (8) Right meditation. This path is the Middle Path avoiding the two extremes, *niç.*, sensuality on the one side, and extreme asceticism on the other.

Thus the philosophy of Buddhism is intensely rationalistic. It believes in the law of karma and rebirth. That is, a man reaps the consequences of his own actions in the previous existence. The cause of human suffering is birth and it is within the power of man to get rid of rebirth and the consequent suffering. The Buddhist Nirvāṇa is the release from rebirth. It does not formally deny the existence of God, but does not mention Him as a necessary factor for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Thus it lays an emphasis on the individual exertion at self-improvement and on

moral actions as a means to attain it. Ahimsā or abstaining from killing, respect for animal life, truthfulness, reverence to superiors, service to humanity to relieve sufferings of all kinds etc., are some of the positive actions of practical morality of Buddhism. Contrary to the beliefs of the existing Brāhmaṇism it rejects the infallibility of the Vedas, condemns the animal sacrifices and the elaborate and meaningless ceremonies in worships, rejects the superiority of the Brāhmins and the caste system.

Buddhism at once appealed to the masses as a welcome relief from the priest-ridden and caste ridden Brāhmaṇism. The magnetic personality of the Buddha worked as a touch-stone for all who came into his contact. The impeccable logic with which he met the arguments of the learned orthodox Brāhmins, and the deep human feeling which inspired his discourses convinced priests, princes and poor people alike. By freeing religion of all elaborate and costly ceremonials, he made it accessible to the poor, and laying stress on practical morality, he made the life of the community healthier and happier. Religion which was more or less vicarious under the Brāhmaṇic cult became intensely personal and reflected in day-to-day conduct of life. By abolishing caste distinctions, he raised the status of the lower orders who in accepting Buddhism obtained their social and spiritual freedom. All these account for the rapid rise of Buddhism which the time spirit demanded as a cure for the evils in Hindu society arising out of a degenerate Brāhmaṇic cult, and the Buddha had the satisfaction to see before he passed away that the people and princes of such powerful kingdoms as Magadha, Kośala and Kauśāmbī and those of the republican states of the Śākyas, the Vajjis, the Mallas etc., accepted Buddhism, and the whole of Middle India or Majjhimadesa as it was then called, was dotted with the Buddhist monasteries and Vihāras. After his death the highly organised Buddhist Saṅgha consisting of zealous and selfless monks and nuns carried on the work of propagation efficiently and successfully. Then the patronage of the great emperor Aśoka who made it the state religion still more contributed to its success in India and its diffusion abroad.

In addition to the great teacher and the doctrine of Buddhism there is a third factor of equal importance. It is the Saṅgha or the Buddhist Church. The three together form the Buddhist Holy Trinity to which the Buddhists pay equal reverence in their daily prayers :

‘I seek refuge in the Buddha.’

‘I seek refuge in the Dhamma.’

‘I seek refuge in the Saṅgha.’

The Buddha organised the Church in a systematic way and laid down rules for the conduct of its members. Membership was open to all persons, male or female, above fifteen years of age. There was no caste restriction. The rules of admission were as follows : a candidate for admission to the Saṅgha had to attach himself to a monk who after giving him certain preliminary training was to present him to an assembly of monks and make a formal proposal for admitting him to the Church. The permission being given, he was to be ordained as a monk who henceforth led a life of poverty and chastity and devotion. One of the primary causes of the rapid progress of Buddhism was the devoted and selfless service of the monastic Order. The lay Buddhists, of course, led the life of householders and financially contributed to the maintenance of the monastic Order, as it is even now done in Burma. The government of the church was primarily in the hands of local Saṅghas. The ultimate authority was in the hands of the general council which was convoked whenever any occasion arose.

Four such general councils of the Buddhist church were held. The first general council was held a few weeks after the demise of the Buddha in the Sattapaṇṇī cave¹ near Rājagriha in which the discourses of the Buddha were collated, classified and adopted as authoritative canonical texts by an assembly of five hundred monks representing different local Saṅghas. The division of the teachings of the Buddha into two pitakas—Vinaya and Dhamma dealing with the discipline of the monks and the doctrine respective—

General Councils.
First General Council at Rājagriha, c. 487.

¹ Vinaya—Chullavagga XI, Dipavaṃśa IV.

ly was made in the first general council. The president of the council was Mahākassapa. Upāli and Ananda, both attendants and close disciples of the Buddha, were the authorities for the Vinaya and Dhamma Sūtras respectively.

One hundred years after the parinirvāṇa, the monks of Vaiśālī adopted certain practices which were contrary to the rules of Vinaya. This necessitated the convocation of the second general council of the Church which was attended by the monks from all parts of India.¹ The Vaiśālī monks stuck to their views, and the council having

Second General
Council at Vaiśālī
c. 387 B.C. : The
first Schism.

failed to settle the dispute, a great schism of the Buddhist church was the result. Those who held to the orthodox Vinaya were called Sthaviras while the pro-changers became known as Mahāsaṃghikas.

The third general council was held at Pāṭaliputra in the reign of the Emperor Aśoka. It was held, according to the Ceylonese traditions, 236 years after Buddha's death,

Third General
Council c. 251 B.C.
The Tripitaka ;
Attempt at Unity

and was presided over by the learned monk Moggaliputta Tissa. The council accomplished two important results : firstly it made a new classification of the Buddhist canonical texts by the addition of a third piṭaka called the Abhidhamma Piṭaka which contained the philosophical interpretations of the doctrines of the existing two piṭakas, especially of the Sutta or Dhamma Piṭaka². The result was that the sayings and discourses of the Buddha now came to be known as the Tripitaka. Secondly, the canonical literature

¹ Vinaya—Chullavagga XII, S.B.E. Vol. XX, p. 409 ff. Dīpavaṃsa v. 72. ff. Mahāvamsa IV.

² Tradition has it that Tissa also compiled the *Kathāvatthu*, a treatise refuting all the heretical doctrines of those times, and incorporated it with the Canon. It is one of the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It presupposes not only the texts of the Vinayapiṭaka and of all the Nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka, but other books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It would therefore be assumed that this book was written after the compilation of the Canon by Tissa himself, and the members of the council appended it to the whole work by way of a crowning piece.

was definitely and authoritatively settled so as to eliminate all disruptive tendencies; making all schisms within the church punishable. In consonance with the authorized text of the Canon as definitely settled in the council, Aśoka issued the edicts against schisms.¹

The fourth and the last general council of the Buddhist church was held in Kaśmīr under the leadership of the elder Vasumitra and the great scholar Aśvaghoṣa during the reign of Kanishka. This council settled certain controversial questions arising out of some differences of opinion between the Sarvāstivāda teachers of Kaśmīra and Gandhāra and also composed three large commentaries of the three Piṭakas known as Vibhāṣās.

Fourth General
Council in Kash-
mir.

We find in the time of Kanishka the rise of a new school of Buddhism known as Mahāyāna or the great vehicle which differs in many essential points from the old Buddhism of the Buddha called Hīnayāna or the lesser vehicle. The genesis of the Mahāyāna doctrine may, however, be found in the teaching of the Buddha himself, although the name Mahāyāna is new and is found for the first time in the time of Kanishka. According to Buddha's teachings, there are three ways or vehicles for the realising or Nirvāṇa :

(1) Those who want to achieve their own salvation as soon as possible, without considering about others, can realise that goal by the attainment of arhatship. This vehicle is called Arhat-yāna or the vehicle of the Arhats.

(2) Those who together with the attainment of their own salvation want to do some more beneficial work for others can reach the goal by the way which is called pratyeka-Buddhayāna or the vehicle of individual Buddha.

(3) Those who have renounced their own salvation or Nirvāṇa in order to help others and to this end have dedicated their lives. This is Buddhayāna or the vehicle of the Buddha.

¹ Cf. Kauśāmbī Edict in the Allahabad Pillar; Sārṇāth and Sāncī Pillar Edicts.

In the older eighteen schools into which old Buddhism was divided all the three vehicles stated above were equally respected. At the beginning of the Christian era, there developed one school of thought which denounced the other two vehicles and proclaimed that the Buddhayāna was the great and the only vehicle. In order to have canonical sanction for the Buddhayāna, or which they named Mahāyāna or the great vehicle to distinguish it from the other two yānas which they called together the little vehicle, they compiled many sūtras, such as Ratnakūṭa and Vaipulya, which differed radically from the sūtras of the old Piṭakas in many essential points. For instance, the Mahāyānists who followed the new canonical books, the Vaipulya sūtras deified the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas, according to Buddhist tradition, are beings who were in the process of attaining Buddhahood but had not yet attained it. For instance the Buddha himself was born as Bodhisattvas innumerable times before he attained perfection at Gayā. This introduction of the

Mahayanism and
Hinayanism com-
pared.

worship of the image of the Buddha and of the Bodhisattvas is a novel feature of Mahāyānism in clear contrast to Hinayānism. A second point of contrast is that whereas the Hīnayānists relied more on personal efforts at good living as the way to salvation, the Mahāyānists relied more and more on the devotion and worship of the Buddha as a means of salvation and consequently introduced image-worship with its attendant rituals, ceremonies, charms and formulae. Faith took the place of reason, devotional worship replaced self-efforts. A third point of contrast between the two schools is that whereas canonical texts of Hīnayāna were all written in Pāli, those of Mahāyāna are found written in Sanskrit.

Among the great exponents of the Mahāyāna doctrine and philosophy may be mentioned the names of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asanga, Dīgnāga and Dharmakīrti.

The points in which Buddhism and Jainism differ from Brahmanism or orthodox Hinduisim are the points of resemblance between the former two. Both Buddhism and Jainism are protestant religious movements against the corruptions of Brāhmaṇism.

Buddhism and
Jainism.

Both denied the authority of the Brāhmaṇic ceremonies and sacrificial worships, denied the superiority of the Brāhmins and the caste-system. The founders of both religions were Kshatriya princes who drew their inspiration from the teachings of the Upanishads and preached their religions in the common language of people. Both laid emphasis on moral actions, the practice of Ahimsā and on monastic life free from worldly tangles.

But in many other respects they differed fundamentally from each other. The Nirvāṇa of the Buddhists is fundamentally different from that of the Jains. The Nirvāṇa of the former is escape from existence, while that of the latter is escape from body. The Jains believe in rigorous asceticism which is discarded by the Buddhists. The doctrine of Ahimsā, believed in by both, is carried by the Jainas to a far greater extent than ever contemplated by the Buddhists. Jainism retains a number of Brāhmaṇic practices and ceremonies and a modified form of caste-system—totally discarded by the Buddhists. Buddhism has almost disappeared from India, while Jainism is still followed by a considerable section of Indian people.

Both Buddhism and Jainism retain some features of their parent religion, Hinduism. Buddhism and Jainism, as have been stated at the outset of this chapter, are mere offshoots of Hinduism, arising in protest of some of the corruptions of the latter, discarding its evils but retaining its fundamental principles. For instance, the law of Karma and Rebirth, the doctrine of Ahimsā, the spirit of toleration and purity of life are common features found in all three.

DOWNFALL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA : ITS CAUSES.

There is a great deal of misunderstanding as to the real causes of the downfall of Buddhism in India. Some have ascribed the disappearance of Buddhism from India to Brāhmaṇic revival under the Imperial Guptas and to the loss of royal patronage. Buddhism existed in flourishing condition during and long after the rule of the Guptas as has been testified to by Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang. Moreover, the loss of royal patronage cannot be the cause of the extinction of a true and strong religion. Others have ascribed

its downfall to Śāṅkarāchārya's anti-Buddhist crusade. This is also historically wrong as will be shown later. Others again have ascribed its downfall from India to Muslim invasion and persecution. The latter may be a contributory cause but is never by itself solely responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism from India. The real cause lay in the decay and rottenness which overtook the Buddhist Saṅgha in the last stage of its existence in India which, however, coincided with Muslim invasions of this country. But to say, therefore, that Buddhism fell because of the Muhammadan persecution alone is wrong, for, Brāhmaṇism being equally under the persecution of the Muslim conquerors at the same period survived, while the former succumbed. Why? Because of the inherent defective system of its organisation laying undue emphasis on monastic life and the gradual transformation of Buddhism by the introduction of some of those features of Brāhmaṇism against which the founder of the faith, Gautama Buddha, raised his voice of protest. To understand this gradual deterioration of Buddhism which succumbed to the contributory causes stated above, it is necessary to give a brief historical review :

The first stage of change of Buddhism was the rise of the school of Mahāyānists who introduced the worship of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and created many more of the latter, such as Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and others. The first image of the Buddha was made during the time of the Emperor Kanishka and after the creation of new Bodhisattvas, their images also came into existence. They were worshipped everywhere and people built great temples to them endowed with much wealth and ornaments. Then they invented many gods and goddesses, first as symbols of the different qualities of the Buddha and the more eminent Bodhisattvas but afterwards that symbolism was lost and they became separate gods and goddesses. Thus through the advent of Mahāyāna, Buddhism was diverted into quite a new channel leading to image-worship.

After the fifth century A.D. monasteries of Northern India contained images of these gods and goddesses which were worshipped by Buddhists. As time went on, the popular mind was more and more attracted towards these magnificent images of

temples and monasteries which were patronised by kings and wealthy persons. Many unworthy people entered monastic life because they found these monasteries an abode of easy and comfortable life. When the number of such unworthy entrants increased and they formed a majority within the Order, they began to relax many rules and sought sanctions to indulge in many vices. To that end they composed many Tāntric texts, into which, by and by, they introduced some practices which were quite contrary to the ethics of Buddhism. This phase of Buddhism which was evolved out of Mahāyāna is known as Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism. The Vajrayānists, following the precedence created by the Mahāyānists, composed many books on their own doctrines. They propagated them secretly among their followers. They mentioned that the Buddha did not preach only one Dharma but three kinds of Dharma—the first Śrāvakyāna at Sārnāth, the second Mahāyāna for more evolved people at Rājagriha, and the third Vajrayāna for the highly evolved people at Dhānyakataka in South India. The Mahāyānists could not stop Vajrayāna any more than the Hinayānists could stop the spread of Mahāyāna. Moreover, the Vajrayānists did not teach openly and introduced many esoteric practices in which women and wine were most essential things.

This attracted many people. The work began to exercise a great influence on popular minds on account of their psychic powers which they obtained by constant mystic practices. These psychic powers which were akin to hypnotism passed for spiritualism. While this new phase of Buddhism succeeded in influencing popular minds, it also helped to destroy the ethical fervour of the monastic order.

By the beginning of the ninth century Vajrayāna was firmly established in India, so much so, that even the great monasteries of Nālandā which was hitherto a great centre of Mahāyānism and of University learning became the headquarters of Vajrayāna. The introduction of esoteric practices, demonstrations of psychic powers, sorceries and incantations along with the worship of hundreds of gods and goddesses housed in temples and monasteries so completely changed the Buddhism of Śākya Muni that

by the end of twelfth century A. D. nothing of the old religion was left, and mysticism and Tāntricism took its place. The mystics had such great influence that princes and peasants vied with one another to lavish gifts and endowments on monasteries to earn their good will and protection. The kings had such implicit faith in their formulae and practices that instead of spending money on the army, they liberally patronised the monasteries and employed their Tāntric priests to perform mystic ceremonies for the protection of their realm. In this way the coffers of monasteries held more gold, silver and jewels than the treasures of kings, since for centuries the rich and poor alike vied with one another to fill them. At this time when the state of Buddhism was rotten to the core, the Turks invaded the country, destroying the great temples and monasteries considered most sacred and miraculous. Images of gods and goddesses were broken into pieces; though the mystic priest performed their sacrifices and mystic incantations, these did not help them. Thus by the beginning of the thirteenth century the whole of Northern India had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The Pāla kings who built the monastery of Odantapurī especially for the mystic monks in order to have their help, relied more upon their magic power than upon their armies to ward off the Muslim invasion, with the result that only two hundred horsemen under Muhammad Bin Baḥtiyar were able to capture the capital. Baḥtiyar destroyed the famous monastery of Nālandā. The image of the goddess Tārā, which was considered to possess great magic power was broken and thrown down. The great University Library of Nālandā where Yuan Chwang studied for five years was burnt and destroyed. The same fate overtook the great University Library of Vikramaśilā. Had the monasteries and temples possessed less wealth, possibly the Turks would not have destroyed them since the Turk's principal object was to obtain their wealth. Thus when Buddhism in Northern India was rotten from within, there came the Turks to whose blows it so easily succumbed.

Another popular but mistaken belief is that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya destroyed Buddhism in India by his relentless crusade against it throughout India. He not only used his great knowledge and

debating skill to defeat Buddhist scholars in discussions but that he inspired his followers with such deep hatred for Buddhism that they used violence against it. This belief is not only not true, but is unworthy of the great leader of Brahmanic revival and of the cult of Advaitavada. Our study of the historical materials available in the Brahmanic and Buddhist literatures together with the archaeological finds compels us to discard this notion. Śaṅkarāchārya flourished about the eighth century A. D. His great contemporary Śāntarakṣita who criticised all the philosophical theories of his contemporaries and predecessors in his famous book *Tattvasaṃgraha* says nothing about Śaṅkarāchārya. That shows that Śaṅkara was not well-known at that time and that the militant crusade against Buddhism that is ascribed to him was not enough to attract his contemporary's notice. It would seem that Śaṅkarāchārya was raised to a high position among Indian thinkers on account of Vāchaspati who began to preach Śaṅkarā's theories through learned commentaries and philosophical interpretations one century after. Yet in the commentaries of Vāchaspati we find nothing that can be taken exception to by the Buddhists. He was too good a Hindu to preach violence or intolerance or hatred against Buddhism or for the matter of that, against any religion. The great exploits or conquests narrated at length in the works of Ānandagiri and Mādhavāchārya cannot be accepted as true since we find no mention of these armed crusades of Śaṅkara against Buddhists in Buddhist records in Pāli, Chinese or Tibetan. If they really occurred, surely these records would have mentioned them. Nor do we find any mention of his crusading activities in Southern India in the Ceylonese Chronicles; for the *Dīpavaṃśa* and the *Mahāvāṃśa* which make frequent mentions of the brutalities of the Tamil kings against Buddhism says nothing about the crusades of Śaṅkara.

The fact is that Buddhism existed in a flourishing condition up to the end of the seventh century A.D. as testified to by Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. Later on, until the twelfth century, we find that Buddhism although internally weakened and corrupted by Vajrayāna remained outwardly strong under the patronage of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. In the tenth century, the

Buddhists established many new large monasteries as Vikramśilā (founded by Devapāla). It was in this Pāla period that many Indian teachers went to Tibet where they strengthened Buddhism and translated thousands of Buddhist works into Tibetan language which are still preserved. During this period many Tibetan Buddhist monks came to the monastic universities. These records did not mention Śaṅkara's crusade.

The rulers of Kānyakubja in the north-west of the Pāla kingdom who had an extensive territory running from the Jumna to the Gaṇḍak had a great respect for Buddhism, although they were the followers of Brāhmaṇism. Their magnificent gifts to Buddhist monasteries prove this. King Govinda Chandra donated five villages to the monastery of Jetavana, as can be seen from his copper-plate inscriptions. His queen Kumāra Devī built a magnificent Vihāra at Sārṇāth, the ruins of which are still in good condition. His great grandson Jayachandra also admired Buddhism as is shown by the Gayā inscription in which this king is mentioned as a disciple of Mitra Yogī, a famous Buddhist saint of the twelfth century. Thus we find that until the twelfth century Buddhism was prevalent in North India. Archaeological proofs of the prevalence of Buddhism in South India also exist.

Buddhist usages of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found in Mahobā, and also in Ellorā, Nāsik, and many other parts of the Deccan. Unfinished Buddhist cave temples are found in Aurangabad and other places. In Śaṅkara's own native country Kerala, the manuscript of Manjuśrīmūla-kalpa was found even later than this time, and this shows, to say nothing of other parts, that even in Śaṅkara's own birth-place Buddhism was in existence many centuries after his time. From the above evidence, both negative and positive, we cannot accept the story that Śaṅkara destroyed Buddhism in India.

Summarised, it comes to this that the chief cause of the disappearance of Buddhism was the prevalence of Vajrayāna which sapped its foundation by destroying all moral strength. The secondary or contributory cause was the invasion of the Turks which gave the final blow which the morally and ethically weak-

ened structure of Buddhism could not withstand. Though the Turks did not spare the Brāhmaṇic temples also, and there were Tāntric practices among some of the followers of Brāhmaṇism, Brāhmaṇ teachers based their teachings on strict moral and ethical principles and good character, so that they were more respected. That is why we find the Brāhmaṇic temples more often restored, although the Buddhists were unable to restore their temples and monasteries. Take, for example, the famous temple of Viśvanātha of Benares which was destroyed several times and was again and again restored. First it was destroyed by the Turks who erected a mosque in its place which still exists there. And even now, on Śivarātri day, people visit this spot to offer flowers and water to a stone-pillar standing in the courtyard of the mosque. Then the Brāhmaṇs erected another Viśvanātha temple at a place now known as Adiviśveśvara (Original Viśvanātha); that also was destroyed. And the third one was erected at Jāāna Vāpi which was destroyed by Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century. Again the Brāhmaṇs were able to construct another one which is the present Viśvanātha temple. Here we find examples of the activities of the Brāhmaṇs and how they were able to collect sufficient funds to erect marvellous temples; but if we look at the ruins of the Buddhist buildings, the last Vihāra was built by queen Kumāra Devī in the eleventh century; and after its destruction no restoration was made, until only a few years ago. We find the same thing in connection with Nālandā, Jetavana and other Buddhist places in the Middle India. They show that once Buddhist monasteries were destroyed, Buddhist monks were unable to restore them. What was the cause? It was because the Buddhist monks who were the leaders of the whole Buddhist community had no reputation for good character or other admirable qualities. They had been respected only because they possessed supernatural powers through their Tāntric practices and incantations. Through the great blow the Turks dealt to these supernatural powers, the whole foundation of their prestige and power vanished, and their immoral practices were laid bare before the people; therefore they could not be helped by the people in the restoration of their temples. Also by reason of

their special dress and lonely dwellings, outside the cities and towns, they were conspicuous enough to be singled out by the invaders. On account of these two causes they were forced to flee from India to the safer border countries such as Nepal and Tibet. Thus by the fall of the Buddhist monasteries and temples, and by the absence of their leaders, the Buddhist monks, Buddhists were abandoned and left without guides and in the very nature of the organisation they were helpless. Within one or two centuries, some of them who had relatives and caste people of their own in the Brāhmanic faith, returned to that faith, others who were considered inferior or suffered from social tyranny of the higher castes were tempted to accept Islam. Thus somewhere in the fourteenth century Buddhism disappeared from the Middle country. It lingered for a few years more in some other places; but without backbone it was unable to stand; and thus the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth became complete.¹

Thanks to the activities of the Mahā Bodhi Society of India founded by the late Devamitta Dharmapāla of Ceylon there has been an earnest attempt to revive Buddhism in India. The Mūlagandhakūṭi Vihāra of Sārnāth has been restored by a magnificent building. Along with it, rest houses for Buddhist monks and pilgrims, a hospital, a school house and a library building have been constructed. Sārnāth where the Buddha had set the Wheel of Law in motion and where Aśoka had perpetuated that event by building a monastery and setting up an inscribed pillar, is again humming with life as the headquarter of the Buddhist organisation in India, after a lapse of several centuries. New Vihāras have been built at Kuśinārā and Śrāvastī and Calcutta. A Buddhist rest house has been built at Bodhi-Gayā near the Mahā-Bodhi Temple. Branches of the Mahā Bodhi Society have been opened in different towns and cities of India.

Revival of Buddhism in India.

¹ J.M.B.S., Dec. 1932, March, 1933.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM THE 6TH CENTURY TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.

I

POLITICAL CONDITION

The Pre-Mauryan States

In the sixth century B.C. we are on more solid grounds as to the political history of India, the Buddhist and the Jaina books as well as Brāhmanic literature, the Purāṇas, providing plenty of identical and corroborative evidences for its construction.

The most striking feature in the political condition of India in the sixth century B.C. was the absence of any paramount power.

The whole of North India from Gandhāra (Modern Kāśmīr and Taxila) to the borders of Bengal was parcelled out roughly among sixteen principal states. The Buddhist canonical text, the Aṅguttara Nikāya* names these sixteen Mahājanapadas as follows :

- (1) Kāśī.
- (2) Kośala.¹
- (3) Aṅga.²
- (4) Magadha.³
- (5) Vajji.⁴
- (6) Malla.⁵
- (7) Chedi.⁶
- (8) Vamśa (Vatsa).⁷

*Aṅguttara I, 213 ; IV. 252, 256, 260. Also of mahāvastu II, 2. line 15, ; & the notes in the Vinaya Texts II, 146.

¹ Roughly corresponding to modern Oudh. ² The state of Magadha roughly corresponding to the district of Bhagalpur. ³ Corresponds roughly to the present districts of Patna and Gayā. ⁴ A confederation of several clans with their capital at Vaiśālī. ⁵ The territory of the twin republican states with capitals at Kuśinārā (modern Kāśī near Gorakhpur) and Pāvā (modern Padrauna, 12 miles north of Kāśī.) ⁶ Modern Bundelkhand. ⁷ The capital of Vatsa or Vamśa kingdom is identified

- (9) Kuru.⁸
- (10) Panchāla.⁹
- (11) Machchha (Matsya).¹⁰
- (12) Sūrasena.¹¹
- (13) Assaka.¹²
- (14) Avanti¹³
- (15) Gandhāra.¹⁴
- (16) Kamboja.¹⁵

In the sixth century B.C.—many of the above states had lost their importance which they had before; and some had not yet attained the importance which they got later. Of the former, Kuru and Pañchāla which occupied a premier position in North India in the later Vedic period occupy a secondary position now. The kingdom of Videha which was the centre of political greatness and cultural activities just a century earlier is no longer heard. The kingdom was destroyed by means of an armed revolution of the people on account of the tyranny of its last king Kalāra Janaka¹ and on the ruins of which three republican states arose. The kingdom of Kāśī which had retained its supremacy in North India upto the beginning of the sixth century B. C. fell a victim first to the growing power of Kośala and then of Magadha.

Besides the republics of the Vajjian confederation and the twin republics of the Mallas, of Pāvā and Kuśinārā, the Buddhist texts also mention several other small aristocratic republics e.g. Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Bhaggas

with the ruins of Kośam, a village 38 miles from Allahabad. For proofs of its identification read the author's Early History of Kauśāmbī, pp. 83-99. ⁸ Roughly corresponding to modern Dehli Province and Meerut district. ⁹ Corresponding roughly to Rohilkhand Division. ¹⁰ Roughly corresponding to Jaipur State. ¹¹ The country with capital at Mathura. ¹² A state in the neighbourhood of Avānti. ¹³ Roughly corresponding to modern Mālwa. ¹⁴ Roughly corresponding to modern Kashmir and Taxila. ¹⁵ A state immediately north of Gandhāra identified with Rājapura described by Yuan Chwang to have existed in the modern N.W.F.P.

¹ Majjh.Nik.—Makhādeva-Sutta [II. 82]; Nimi Jātaka; Buddha Charita [IV, 80]; Arthaśāstra.

of Sūmsumāra Giri, the Bulis of Allakappa and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. They were all Kshatriya tribes and claimed and received an equal share of the bodily remains of the Buddha after his Parinirvāṇa at Kuśinārā with the representative of Magadha and Vaiśālī.¹

But the states which stand out prominently out of the sixteen Janapadas mentioned above were Kōśala, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Vajisa and Avanti. These States figure prominently in the Buddhist literature as fighting with one another and each having direct and intimate relations with the Buddha who visited these cities several times and succeeded in converting the princes and

the people there to the new doctrine. Kosala which roughly speaking corresponds modern

Oudh occupied a premier position in the time of its king Mahakosala, who reigned in the beginning of the 6th century B.C. In his time Kāśī was a fief of the kingdom of Kosala being apparently conquered by his predecessors. When Mahākōśala married his daughter Kosala Devī to Bindusara, king of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāśī as dowry to his daughter. His son and successor Prasenajit was a contemporary and great admirer of the Buddha who evidently converted him and his people to the new doctrine. The Samyutta Nikaya mentions Prasenajit as the head of a group of five Rājās. This proves Kosala's premier position in North India before the rise of Magadha to that position.

The Vajjians, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, included eight confederated clans, of whom the Lichhavis and the Videhans were the most important.² Videha was once a kingdom which rose to the great power and importance in the time of its philosopher-king, Janaka. During his time, the capital Mithila was the centre of political and cultural activity of Northern India. The last king of Videha and of the direct line of the great Janaka was Kalāra³ who perished as we have seen

¹ Digh. Nik.—Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

² Buddhist India, p. 25. ³ Karala occ. to the Mbh.

(p. 69) along with his kingdom and relations as a result of a lascivious attempt on a Brahman maiden just as the last king of Rome, Superbus Tarquinius, was driven from his kingdom for a similar offence. On the ruins of the Videhan kingdom arose the two great republics of the Videhans and the Lichchhavis and six small others. The capital of Videhan republic was Mithilā which has been identified with the modern town of Janakpur. Dr. Rhys Davids says that the name of the town 'preserves the memory of the famous Rajput scholar and philosopher, king Janaka of old time.'

More powerful than the Videhans in fact the most powerful of the republican clans forming the Vajjian confederation were the Lichchhavis. They were an indigenous The Lichchhavis Kshatriya clan¹ and not Hinduised foreigners as Dr. V. Smith seems to think.² They were a war-like and independence-loving people. They had evidently taken a leading part in the revolution which destroyed the Videhan monarchy and created the republican confederations, for their city Vaiśālī was not only the capital of their clan but was also the capital of the entire Vajjian confederation. There are plenty of references about their war-like nature in the Buddhist texts. Even in the time of the Great Bimbisara, they were bold enough to attack his kingdom across the Ganges. Bimbisara had entered into a friendly alliance with them by marrying a Vaiśālī princess Chellanā. Also king Ajātaśatru who was a terror to his neighbours, was afraid of the Lichchhavis, so much so that he built a strong fort on the junction of the Ganges and the Son, on the site of the village Pāṭali, which afterwards developed into the famous city of Pāṭaliputra and the metropolis of the great Magadhan empire for nearly one thousand years. Determined to destroy his turbulent neighbours the Lichchhavis, Ajātaśatru adopted a treacherous means. This chief minister Vassakara was sent to Vaiśālī to create dissension, quarrels and civil strife among the Lichchhavis. Vassakara succeeded in his mission so

¹ Dig. Nil. (Mahaparinibbana Sutta).

² Indian Antiquary 1903, p. 233; 1908, p. 73.

well that Ajātsatru was able to destroy their independence and with it the Vajjian confederacy with little opposition.¹

The Lichhavis were a sort of an aristocratic republic, the power of the state was vested in the assembly elected by the citizens. The government was carried on by 'elders' each of whom bore the title of Rājā. So that a Rājā in Vaiśālī or for the matter of that, of any other aristocratic republic of which there were quite a few at that time in the Middle and Northern India, did not mean a monarch but only a ruler or a member of the Government. We have no means to ascertain whether these Rājās were elected or were hereditary heads of the families composing the clan. One of the Jātakas relates that seven thousand, seven hundred and seven Rājās lived in Vaiśālī and exercised the right of sovereignty². If the number is correct, then there must have been as many thousand families forming the Lichchhavi clan. Our surmise is that the Assembly elected the members of the government from among the heads of the noble families, each of whom bore the title of Rājā. The Lichchhavis had friendly relations with both Kosala and the Mallas³.

Among the public buildings, the city had a large hall—Santhāgāra or the hall of the Assembly where the Lichchhavi Rājās transacted business of state.

The capital city of the Lichchhavis, Vaiśālī was intimately connected with both Jainism and Buddhism. The mother of Mahāvira the founder of Jainism, was a Lichchhavi princess, Triśālā, her father Chetaka being a Rājā of Vaiśālī. The birth-place of Mahāvira was Kuṇḍagrama which was a suburb of the city of Vaiśālī. The Lichchhavis were among the most ardent followers of the Buddha, who always admired them for their spiritual earnestness and amity among themselves. The Buddha visited Vaiśālī several times, and among his last visit to the city before his Mahaparinibbana he spent a considerable time in Vaiśālī and its suburban towns

1 Dig. Nik. (Mahaparinibbana Sutta).

2 Ekapanna Jātaka; Law, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India. p. 99.

3 Ib.

such as Kuṇḍagrama, Hatthīgama, etc. On the eve of his leaving Vaiśālī during his last visit the Buddha feelingly spoke to Ananda: "This will be the last time, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata will behold Vaiśālī¹.

We have it from the Pāli texts that Vaiśālī was 'an opulent and prosperous town, crowded with people, abundant with goods'; that it had thousands of seven-storied buildings'; innumerable 'pleasure grounds and lotus ponds'. The Pāli texts also refer to the largeness of the city. The introductory portion of the *Ekapanna Jātaka* relates that a 'triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch towers'. Vaiśālī had the distinction of being the venue of the second general council of Buddhist monks. The city has been identified with Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.

The Malla territory was another republican state in the 6th century B.C. with two divisions. The capital of one division was Kuśinārā and that of the other was Pāvā. The importance of the Malla state lies in the fact that the last two towns the Buddha visited before his final passing away were Pāvā and Kuśinārā. In the former place he took his last meal and was taken ill. In the latter place he died. Kuśinārā has been definitely identified with Kasia near Gorakhpur (U.P.) and Pāvā with Padrauna, 12 miles north of Kasia. The Mallas were great admirers of the Buddha and were a brave and war-like people, of which there are several references in the Buddhist and Jaina books.

The Vaiṣya or Vatsa country was a powerful monarchical state. Its capital was Kauśāmbī which is identified definitely with the village of Kosam, 38 miles south-west of Allahabad. It was one of the six great cities of that time and was a centre of trade and traffic. Situated on the banks of the Jumna, it was like Taxila, Srāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Rājagriha and Vaiśālī, a wealthy

¹ Dīg. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

and commercial city in which millionaire merchants, lesser merchants and middlemen resided. In the Sutta Nipāta we are told that the most important enterpot of goods and passengers from south and west was Kauśāmbī.¹

In the sixth century B.C. the king who reigned in Kauśāmbī was Udayana. Udayana is described in Buddhist books to be a war-like and powerful king. His relations with the neighbouring states were none too peaceful. Wedged between the two powerful neighbouring states Magadha in the east and Avanti in the west and with its capital city of Kauśāmbī commanding the trade routes by land and water in Mid-India, Udayana's kingdom was coveted by both Ajātaśatru and Pajjota, the king of Avanti. The powerful king Ajātaśatru of Magadha had extended his territory in the west as far as Kāśī which touched the eastern confines of the kingdom of Udayana who secured his eastern frontiers by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Magadha. King Pajjota also invaded his kingdom, but was unsuccessful and had to buy peace by giving his daughter in marriage to its king, Udayana. These two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Vāṃsa which served as a buffer state between Avanti and Magadha. "Had not Udayana contracted these alliances", says Dr. Law, "Kauśāmbī would have fallen an easy prey to the overgrowing power of Magadha and Avanti."² Udayana was so alive to his dangers that he always kept his army in readiness, and had his frontiers guarded by fortresses. The elephants formed a considerable portion of his armed force. He was very fond of hunting, preserved an extensive forest, appointed forest guards to keep watch over them.³

Udayana was at first hostile to Buddhism and persecuted the Buddhists in his kingdom. Afterwards as a result of Buddha's visit to Kauśāmbī and his religious discourses which the king attended, Udayana became an ardent follower and made

¹ Vinaya Texts—Part II, SBE. p. 171.

² Law: Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 23.

³ *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, by the Author pp. 18-19.

Buddhism the State religion. Kauśāmbī remained a great centre of Buddhistic activities for several centuries after Udayana, Yuan Chwang who visited Kauśāmbī in the 7th century A. D. testifies to have seen the ruins of the famous Vihāra and of the homes, in which Vasubandhu and Asaṅga lived. Aśoka set up two pillars there, one inscribed and the other uninscribed. The former which was also used by Samudragupta for his inscription to perpetuate his victory of the battle of Kauśāmbī was afterwards removed by Akbar to Allahabad Fort. It still exists there.

The latter pillar is still *in situ* and is one of the important archaeological monuments to be seen in the ruins of Kosam. A large number of coins some of them very ancient, and a large number of terra-cotta figures, stone images etc., which testify to the continuous history of Kauśāmbī from the ancient to mediaeval age, have been found and removed to the Allahabad Museum. The discovery of a stone image of the Buddha in 1934 in which there is an inscription lends the archaeological proof to the Pāli references that the Buddha visited Kāuśāmbī several times. The image belongs to the 1st century A.D.¹

Avantī, the capital of which was Ujjain, was ruled by King Pajjota, a contemporary of King Udayana of Kāuśāmbī and of the Buddha. The kingdom of Avantī, which
 Avantī. name it bore as late as the 2nd century B.C.,
 roughly corresponds to the central Mālwa, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. From the early middle ages the kingdom was known as Mālwa. King Pajjota is described in Buddhist books as a fierce, war-like, ambitious king. He also wanted to rule over the kingdom of Udayana. The Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā relates that Udayana was once captured by a stratagem and Udayana eloped with his daughter by a counter stratagem and married her.² This story is perhaps at the basis of the war-like relations between the two kings which afterwards happily ended into a matrimonial alliance between the two states.

¹ For further details see the author's book 'Early History of Kauśāmbī', pp. 69 and 108-110.

² *Ib.* pp. 13-16.

Rise of Magadha

Of all the States mentioned above Magadha rose to be the most powerful and premier state in North India during the period under review. The first important king who founded the greatness of Magadha was Bimbisāra. In the ^{Bimbisāra} c. B.C. 547. Jaina books he is named as Sreṇika. According to the Pāli chronicles he reigned for 52 years and died eight years before Buddha's parinirvāṇa which took place in c. 487 B.C. Therefore Bimbisāra must have come to the throne about (487 + 8 + 52) 547 B. C., and died in c. 495 B.C. He entered into wise matrimonial alliances. He married Kosala Devī daughter of King Mahākosal of Kosala, who granted a village in Kāśī as dowry to his daughter. He kept the turbulent Lichchhavis in check by entering into a matrimonial alliance with them. He married Chellanā, a princess of Vaiśālī.¹ He also conquered the kingdom of Āṅga whose capital was Champā over which he appointed his son Kunika Ajātsātru as Viceroy. The king of Āṅga whom Bimbisāra had defeated in battle was Brahmadatta. Thus, partly by diplomacy and partly by war, Bimbisāra expanded the Magadhan dominions in all directions and 'launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kāliṅga'. The extent of Bimbisāra's dominion may be realised from the fact that it 'embraced 80,000 villages and was about twenty three hundred miles in circumference'.² The capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha of the time of the Mahābhārata was Girivraja which was a natural hill fortress. Bimbisāra built a new capital at the foot of the hills which he called Rājagriha. Remains of Rājagriha still exist at the modern village of Rājgir, 50 miles east from Patna. Bimbisāra was a contemporary of the Buddha and died eight years before the great teacher, having reigned according to Ceylonese Chronicles for 52 years.³

¹ Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, I, XII-XV.

² PHAI, p. 138.

³ Dip. III, 56-60 ; Mhv. II, 29-30.

Ajātsātru succeeded his father Bimbisāra on the throne of Magadha. His reign was the high water-mark of the power of the house of Bimbisāra. His mother was Chellana, a Vaiśālī princess, but this did not prevent him from carrying on war with the Lichchhavis, his mother's people. He first built a fort at Pāṭali-grāma on the junction of the rivers, the Ganges and the Son to repel the Vajjians, then destroyed the independence of the Lichchhavis by carrying on the war in their own territory. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya describes how by diplomacy and intrigues he first weakened the Vajjians by creating dissensions and disunion among them and then destroyed their independence by invading their territory and defeating them in battle.¹

He also made war on Kosala. The story of Ajātsātru's war with Kosala is found in the Samyutta Nikāya in which it is related that king Prasenajit withheld the revenues of Kāśī from his nephew who had killed his father. This brought about the prolonged war between uncle and nephew in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other won. At one time the king of Kosala fled away in defeat; at another Ajātsātru was taken prisoner. Ultimately it appears that Ajātsātru got the best of the war, for Prasenajita was humbled down to buy peace by giving his daughter Vajira in marriage to Ajātsātru and giving up all claims over Kāśī which was annexed to the kingdom of Magadha.² Thus, as a result of the aggressive policy of Ajātsātru, the kingdom of Magadha was enlarged by the addition of Vaiśālī and Kāśī. Three events of outstanding importance took place in the reign of Ajātsātru for none of which, however, he had any direct responsibility, and with the two of which he was only distantly connected. The first was the tragic end of king Prasenajit of Kosala. His eldest son Vidūdabha rebelled against him and with the help of his father's minister Dīgha Chārāyana raised himself to the throne, when his father Prasenajit was absent in a country-town. The ex-king set out alone for Rājagriha to secure his nephew's help against his

¹ Dig. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta).

² Jāt. II, 404 IV. 343.

rebel son. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rājagriha.¹

The second was the destruction of Kapilavastu by Vidūdabha. The story as told in Buddhist books has been summed up by Dr. Rhys Davids as follows : King Prasenajit being desirous to associate himself with the Buddha's family asked for one of the daughters of the Sākya chiefs as his wife. The Sākyas discussed the proposition in their mote-hall and held that the acceptance of the proposal would be beneath the dignity of their clan. But they sent him a girl, named Vāsabha Khattriya, the daughter of a slave girl of one of their chiefs. By her Prasenajit had a son, Vidūdabha, mentioned above. And it was in consequence of the anger kindled in Vidūdabha's heart at the discovery of the fraud that, having determined to wreak his vengeance upon the Sākyas, he, on coming to the throne, invaded their country, took their city, and put to death a great number of their clan without distinction of age or sex. The main circumstance of the story, opines Dr. Rhys Davids, is no doubt a historical fact.² It possibly took place a year or two before the death of the Buddha.

The third was the passing away of the Buddha which event took place in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign. The Buddha was taken ill at Pāvā and died at Kuśinārā. Both towns were capitals of the twin Malla republics. After the body of the Buddha was cremated, the representative of Ajātaśatru and those of six republican states demanded a share of the remains of the Master's body which the Mallas of Kuśinārā refused to part with. A war was about to begin, when a peaceful settlement was made at the intervention of a Brāhman present there, whose name was Droṇa. Ajātaśatru having received a share of the remains built a stūpa at Rājagriha. A few weeks after the Mahāparinirvāṇa or the great passing away of the Buddha, the monks assembled at Rājagriha and asked Ajātaśatru to build for them a place where they could assemble to collate and recite the sayings of the Buddha. Ajātaśatru built a fine and spacious Assembly Hall at the famous Sattapaṇṇī cave in the Vaibhāra hill where the first general council

¹ *Ib.*, IV. 152.

² *Buddhist India*, p. 11.

of the Buddhist monks was held and where the Dhamma Suttas and Vinaya Suttas were recited by Ānanda and Upāli respectively and accepted as authoritative collections of the first two Piṭakas.¹

Successors of Ajātaśatru

According to the Purāṇas Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka and Darśaka by Udāyin. The last two kings of the line of Bimbisāra were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin after whom the Nandas began to rule in Magadha. The Pāli² and Jaina³ works, however, ignore Darśaka and make Udāyin or Udāyibhadra son and successor of Ajātaśatru. The Purāṇic traditions, however,

Udāyin. find confirmation in Bhāsa's *Swapnavāsavadattā* in which we are told that Darśaka was king of Magadha and his sister Padmāvatī was married to king Udāyana of Kauśāmbī. The Jaina Parīśiṣṭaparvan makes Padmāvatī, wife of Kuṇika (Ajātaśatru) and Udāyin their son and immediate successor. The work also suggests that Udāyin acted as his father's viceroy at Champā. He *developed* the fortress of Pāṭaliputra built by Ajātaśatru into a large city and transferred there the seat of the government from Rājgriha⁴. Dr. Jayaswal attempted to identify one of Patna statues with Udāyin. He reads the inscription in it as ACHO Chhonidhiśe, interprets ACHO as Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of Śaiśunāga kings and holds that Aja is Udāyi of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa lists⁵. The scholars have however rejected the identification and more or less accepted the earlier identification of the statue with that of a Yaksha as made by Cunningham.

Udāyin's Successors

The Ceylonese chronicles again differ with the Purāṇas regarding the successors of Udāyin. According to the former they are

¹ Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini.

² Samānaphala-Sutta, Dīg. Nik. I, 47.

³ Jacobi, Parīśiṣṭaparvan, p. 42.

⁴ Cf. Parīśiṣṭaparvan and Vāyu Purāṇa.

⁵ PHAI, p. 145.

successively Anuruddha, Muṇḍa, and Nāgadaśaka and that they being all patricides, the people revolted and raised an amātya Śusunāga (Śiśunāga) to the throne. Who is this Śiśunāga. According to the Purāṇas he is the founder of the dynasty of which (Bimbisāra) was the fifth king in order of descent, whereas he is placed at the head of the dynasty in the Pāli Chronicles. We find him (Bimbisāra) placed first and Śiśunāga seventh on the Ceylonese list. The Purāṇic genealogy is probably an error. The Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the Pradyotas can only be reconciled with the Ceylonese list. Pradyota (Pāli, Pajjota) was the first of the Pradyota dynasty of Avantī and a contemporary of Bimbisāra according to the Pāli traditions. The Purāṇas mention four king Pālaka, Gopāla, Aryaka (Ajaka) and Vartivardhana who came to the throne one after another after Pradyota, and add that 'Śiśunāga will destroy the Pradyotas'. So the destruction of the Pradyotas by Śiśunāga which took place four generations after the first Pradyota, the contemporary of Bimbisāra, places its author long after Bimbisāra and not before him. We are further told in the Purāṇas that Śiśunāga (1) placed his son as viceroy of Benares and (2) made Girivraja his abode. The statement (2) may be used as an argument to place him before Udāyin who, we have seen¹ was the first to transfer the capital from Rājagriha to Pātaliputra. But, as Dr. Raychaudhuri has convincingly shown by his illuminating examination of independent sources², 'the fact that Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, had also to transfer the royal residence from Rājagriha to Pātaliputra shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital. And this predecessor, he rightly thinks, was Śiśunāga. The statement (No. 1) undoubtedly proves that Benares was included within Śiśunāga's dominions—a fact which proves that 'he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśī.³ ?

¹ *Supra*, p. 79.

² SBE. XI, p. xvi; Tūrnoūr's Mahavajjīsā xxxvii.

³ PHAI, p. 147.

Śiśunāga was succeeded, according to the Pāli chronicles, by his son Kālāśoka, who is probably the same as Kākavarṇa of the Purāṇic list, as some scholars suggested¹.
 Kālāśoka or Kākavarṇa. The suggestion finds confirmation from Aśokāvadāna which places Kākavarṇa after Muṇḍa, and does not mention Kālāśoka. It has been already shown that Kālāśoka retransferred the capital to Pāṭaliputra. A very important event of his reign was the holding of the second Buddhist council at Vaiśālī which resulted in the great schism of the Buddhist church.² If Kālāśoka is to be identified with Kākavarṇa, then it was he who was done to death, according to Bāṇa, by a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city.³ This event finds confirmation from the Jaina and the Greek sources.

The Bodhivaṃsa gives a list of the sons of Kālāśoka who probably ruled simultaneously, presumably under the regency of the first Nanda who was evidently the murderer. The name of one of these princes was Nandivardhana whom professor Bhandarkar identifies with his namesake of the Purāṇic list.

The Nandas

The Nandas were usurpers to the throne of Magadha. The first Nanda treacherously murdered Kālāśoka, became the guardian to his sons and then having put them to death, installed himself on the throne. He was, according to the Purāṇas, born of a Sūdra woman (Śūdra garbhodbhava). Professor Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar identify Kālāśoka with Kākavarṇa. Bāṇa in his *Harsha charita* refers to the tragic death of Kākavarṇa Śiśunāga 'with a dagger thrust into his throat'. The murderer was, of course, Nanda. This statement finds corroboration from the Jaina and Greek sources. The Jaina Parisiṣṭaparvan [p. 46] calls him a 'son of a courtesan by a barber.' The Mahābodhivaṃsa

¹ Geiger, Jacobi and Bhandarkar.

² See *Supra*, p. 57.

³ *The Harsha Charita*, text p. 193.

calls the first Nanda Ugrasena. Greek writer Curtius in speaking of the origin of the Nanda ruler of Magadha says that when Alexander invaded India, the father of "Agrames" (perhaps corrupt form of Sanskrit Augrasenya or son of Ugrasena)¹ was a barber . . . who having gained the affection of the queen . . . afterwards treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the children, usurped the supreme authority, having put the young princes to death begot the present king."²

The Purāṇas call the founder of the Nanda dynasty Mahāthpadma Nanda and rank him as a great warrior who 'like Parasurāma will destroy the Kshatriyas of this earth and will rule it as its sole monarch'. There is no doubt that he made himself master of almost the whole of Northern India except the Punjab and North-Western Frontier [including Kaśmira] which were parcelled out into a number of independent and rival states. This made it comparatively easy for Alexander to advance triumphantly as far as the eastern confines of the Punjab. Mahāpadma Nanda overthrew all the important contemporary Kashtriya ruling dynasties of Northern India such as the Ikshvākus, Kurus, Pāṇchālas, Kāśis, Maithilas, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Sūrasenas etc.³ the famous Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela which states that Nanda Rājā built an aqueduct in Kaliṅga and that he carried away as trophies the statue of the first Jaina and heirlooms of Kaliṅga kings proves that a Nanda king conquered the Kalinga country and that king was presumably Mahāpadma Nanda whose war-like prowess and extensive conquest have been testified to by the Purāṇas. Dr. Ray Chaudhury suggests that Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan farther south of Kalinga because of the existence there of a city on the Godāvari 'known as Nau Nanda Dehra'.⁴ The strength and the greatness of the Nanda empire is also borne out by Greek writers

¹ We are indebted to Dr. Raychaudhuri for the suggestion.

² Mc.Grindle; Invasion of Alexander, p. 222.

³ PHAI p. 155.

⁴ Ib., p. 156

Curtius and Diodorus who state that the Nanda king (the last Nanda) had a large standing army consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 3,000 elephants. Of the enormous wealth of the Nandas, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang bears testimony to the existence of 'five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious stones'. A passage in the Kathā-sarit-Sāgara states that king Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces¹.

Mahāpadma Nanda was succeeded by his eight sons who according to all authorities reigned simultaneously. The Ceylonese chronicles give the length of the reign period of all the nine Nandas Mahāpadma and his sons, 22 years. The Purānas, however, give 28 years to Mahāpadma and 12 years to his eight sons. If the Ceylonese chronicles are to be believed as to the total period of the reign, then Mahāpadma Nanda could not have reigned more than ten years. The Purānic accounts are generally brief and less explicit than the Chronicles which are therefore more helpful. The former gives the name of only one son of Mahāpadma, viz., Sukalpa. The Mahābodhivaṃśa names all the eight sons, of whom Dhana was one. He was the last king of the Nanda line. He is called Dhana Nanda in the Mahāvamśa and Agrames by the Greek writers. He was on the throne of Magadha when Alexander invaded India. After Alexander's retirement from India he was slain by the Maurya Chandragupta who let the great revolution against the Nandas, the full story of which will be told in a subsequent chapter.

It is difficult to be definite on the date of the reign-period of Mahāpadma Nanda and of his dynasty. The data for this purpose are meagre and uncertain. We may, however, argue, to build up an approximate chronology of the reign period of the Nanda dynasty on the following lines: The second Great Council of the

¹ Ib., p. 157; Tawney's translation of text vol, I, P. 21.

Buddhist Saṅgha took place one hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, *i.e.*, in c. 387 or 386 B.C. [*Supra*, p. 52, n, 1 and p. 57], and in the tenth year of Kālāśoka's reign.¹ According to the Ceylonese chronicles Kālāśoka reigned for 28 years and his ten sons for 21 years. Therefore Kālāśoka who had finished 9 years of his reign in 387 or 386 and reigned for 19 years more must have begun his reign in 396 or 395 B.C. He and his sons reigned for 50 years. Therefore Mahāpadma Nanda could not have come to the throne before [396 or 395-50] c. 346 or 345 B.C. According to the same authority the 'Nine Nandas' *i.e.*, Mahāpadma and his eight sons reigned altogether for 22 years. Therefore the rule of Nanda dynasty ended about 324 or 323 B.C. after which the Maurya rule began in Magadha.

APPENDIX I

THE LIST OF PRE-NANDA KINGS OF MAGADHA

A. The Purāṇas

No.	Name	Length of reign
I	Siśunāga ..	.. 40 years
II	Kākavarṇa ..	.. 26 "
III	Kshemadharman ..	.. 36 "
IV	Kshemjit ..	.. 24 "
V	Bimbiśāra ..	.. 28 "
VI	Ajātaśatru ..	.. 27 "
VII	Darśaka ..	.. 24 "
VIII	Udāyin ..	.. 33 "
IX	Nandivardhana ..	.. 40 "
X	Mahānandin ..	.. 43 "
Total		321 years.

¹ Vinaya Pitaka, Cullovagga xii, SBE. vol. I, P. 409, ff; Dīpavaṃsa V, 27 ff; Mahāvamsa IV.

B. The Ceylonese Chronicles

No.	Name	Length of reign.
I	Bimbisāra ..	.. 52 years
II	Ajātaśatru ..	.. 32 „
III	Udāyin or Udāyibhadra ..	.. 16 „
IV	Anuruddha { ..	.. 8 „
V	Muṇḍa }	
VI	Nāgadasaka ..	.. 24 „
VII	Susunāga (śiśunāga) ..	.. 18 „
VIII	Kālāśoka ..	.. 28 „
IX	His ten sons (including Nandivardhana) 22	„

Total = 200 years.

II

ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Tripiṭaka, the Jātakas and the Jaina canonical books throw a flood of light on the polity, society and the economic condition of the country specially with regard to its north-eastern part during the period under review.

Polity

The Buddhist political and social theories and practices were undoubtedly more liberal than the Brāhmaṇical, as were reflected in their political organisations and their outlook on social hegemony. In the Jātakas the Kshatriyas were the ruling calss standing above all. But non-Kshatriya kingship was not unknown. In Jātaka II. 326 we find that a tyrannical king was replaced by a Brāhmaṇa king. We find a parallel instance in Jātaka III, 513. The existence of certain republican states in Eastern India has already been referred to as known from the Buddhist literature [Supra. ch. v.]. Some of the representative states which existed in the North-West India about that time are known from the Greek sources.

They lay most in the Punjab and the Greek names of some of them have since been satisfactorily identified with the help of indigenous literature and inscriptions, e.g., Malloi [Mālavas], Oxydrakai [Kshudrakas], the Abastanoi, [Ambashṭha].¹

The republican states, we gather from the Buddhist, Jaina and Sanskrit literatures, were known as gaṇas, or tribal republics and the business of state was conducted in an open Assembly Hall, called Santhāgāra. The heads of the families forming the clan or tribe composed the Assembly or Parliament. It is doubtful to say whether the head of every family had a seat in the Assembly. In that case the number would be too unwieldy. It is more reasonable to suppose that the House was elected out of the heads of the families. There is, however, no clear indication of the procedure; may be certain republics had hereditary Presidents or Rājans and others were elected. The accounts of the life of Buddha seem to suggest that he might have succeeded his father Rājā Suddhodana to the headship of the Śākya clan; while the Sanskrit Buddhist text, the Lalitavistāra, no doubt a later work but containing earlier traditions, suggests that the President of the republic of the Vaiśālīans was perhaps elected. "Amongst them [the Vaiśālīans] the rule of the elders, is not observed; everyone considers himself to be the Rājā. 'I am the Rājā, I am the Rājā.' No one becomes the follower of another."² The passage probably implies equal political rights, the characteristic of a democratic and republican state, which the heads of the Lichchhavi clan of Vaiśālī enjoyed and aspired to be elected to the Assembly or even to the Presidentship³. That the Assembly held frequent sessions for full discussions is clear from a reference in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta [Digha Nikāya]. It is possible, as some scholars hold, that the democratic constitution of the Buddhist Saṃgha grew up on the pattern of the political Saṃghas. Buddha, the

¹ Curtius calls them Sabarcae, and say that 'they enjoyed a democratic form of government.'

McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 252.

² *Lalitavistara*, III. p. 21.

³ Cf. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I., p. 48.

author of the Bhikkhu Saṃgha, was born in a republican people. He had Saṃgha neighbours around him and grew up amongst them.¹ So far as the executive is concerned the line of difference between a republican and a monarchical state is very thin. We hear in Vaiśālī of a Rājā, and Upa-Rājā (Vice President) and a Senāpati² who evidently formed the chief executive. In the monarchical state as in Kośala, Magadha, Vatsa, and Avanti, etc., the king and his council of ministers, including, of course, the Purohita and the Commander-in-chief, formed the chief executive. The executive of the republican states, however, seems to have had to consult the Assembly more frequently. The inter-state relationship was one of rivalry and war which very often ended, as was common in ancient India, in matrimonial alliances. There are several examples of such inter-state marriages in the Buddhist literature. The king of Kośala, Mahākośala, gave his sister, Kośala Devi, in marriage to Bimbisāra, who also married a Lichchhavi princess. We have already referred to the political marriages of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī.³

Society

The Buddhist canonical texts reveal the heretical outlook on caste as distinguished from the orthodox Brāhmaṇical views propounded in the contemporary sūtra literature. The Buddhist writers did indeed look upon caste with disfavour. Innumerable discourses⁴ of the Buddha seek to set up the ideal of perfect equality of all persons and eradicate the distinction between man and man due to birth. Yet the writings reveal the fact that caste with its appendage of *bīṇa-jātīya* untouchables took deep roots in the society. In the Setaketu Jātaka (III. 236) we find that a

¹ Jayaswal, *Modern Review* 1913 ; *Hindu Polity*, I pp. 43 f. Bhandarkar, *Charmichael Lectures*, 1918, Lecture V.

² JASB, VII, 1833, pp. 994 f.

³ See *supra*, p. 80.

⁴ Cf. the Ambaṣṭha Sutta (Dig. Nik.); the Assalāyana Sutta (Majjh. Nik.) etc.

Brāhmaṇ runs away from a Chaṇḍāla in fear of contamination. In the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* [IV. 388] we find a Chaṇḍāla's dwelling moved down the river, because his tooth-pick thrown by him up the river was caught in the tuft of the hair of a Brāhmaṇ while he was bathing. In the *Chitta-Sambhūta Jātaka* [IV 391-2] we find that two Chaṇḍāla brothers were beaten almost to death by an infuriated mob because at their sight two high-class maidens abandoned a visit to the temple which would end in free distribution of food and drink to the people. There are innumerable such incidents mentioned in the *Jātakas* which reflect a caste-ridden society, but convey the moral that birth and caste cause conceit, that *Khattiya*, *Bahamana*, *Vessa*, *Sudda*, *Chaṇḍāla* and *Pukkasa* will be 'all equal in the world of the gods, if they have acted virtuously here.' We find in those writings also an attempt to destroy the pretensions of the Brāhmans to superiority and establish that of the *Kshatriyas* in the social hegemony if birth alone is to be accepted the criterion.¹ That the Buddhists themselves observed the pretensions of blood is clear from the fact related in the Buddhist books that the Śākya refused to give a full-blooded Śākya princess in marriage to Prasenajita, king of Kośala, but gave, instead, a Śākya chief's daughter by a slave woman to the Kośala king who knew nothing. When the repercussion of this deceit was related to the Buddha, he, of course, condemned it.²

Position of women in early Buddhism seems to have deteriorated from that in the Vedic times. In the *Chulla Vagga* [X. 1] we find that the Buddha refused to admit women to the Saṃgha when Mahāprajāpati, his own foster-mother, approached him at Kapilavastu to be admitted as a nun. Later when Gautama Buddha was staying at Vaiśālī, Mahāprajāpati, dressed as a man and accompanied by a large number of Śākya women, again approached him with eyes full of tears and weeping with the request for admission to the Saṃgha. This time Ananda, the close disciple of the Buddha, intervened and successfully argued for the admission of

¹ See *Assalāyana Sutta*, *Ambashṭha Sutta*, *Sambhava Jātaka* V. 27, and many others.

² See *Supra*, p. 78

women to the Saṃgha. Buddha, while admitting them, enunciated eight rules which made a nun take up an inferior position to that of the monk, and her life a little harder than that of her brother in the Order. Such rules, among others, which made 'a nun even of hundred years' to first greet a monk, rise up before him, salute him with folded hands and make obeisance even if he has only that day been ordained,¹ and that 'from this day forth utterance of the nuns to the monks is excluded; utterance of the monks to the nuns is not excluded,'² reflect the position of the women in society *vis-à-vis* men—a position which was sought to be maintained in the Order also. That the Buddha was none too happy at the admission of women to the Order is clear from the concluding portion of his discourse to Ānanda relating to that event which incidentally points to the rather low esteem in which they were held in society. "But as women have gone forth, now, Ānanda, the religious life will not last long . . . Just as houses, where there are many women and few men, are broken into by burglars, even so, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth to a house to houseless life. The religious life will not last long. Just as when the kind of disease called white-boned (mildew) falls upon a field of rice, the field of rice will not last long . . . just as when the disease called crimson falls upon a field of sugar-cane, that field will not last long, even so Ānanda, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth from a house to a houseless life the religious life will not last long. Just as a man, Ānanda, might in anticipation make a dyke for a great reservoir, so that the water should not overflow, even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation prescribed these eight strict rules for the nuns, not to be transgressed while life shall last."³

The important place taken by women ascetics in early Buddhism is shown by the existence in the scriptures of a collection of verses

¹ Rule 1 [Vin. Chullavagga X. 1].

² Rule 8. (1b) Oldenberg interprets this rule as nuns cannot charge a monk with an offence, while the latter can.

³ Vinaya, Chulla-Vagga, XI.

known as Therigāthā attributed to about a hundred nuns. That the education of women received a fillip since their admission to the Order admits of no doubt.

Economic condition

Re. the economic condition prevalent during the period under review we are indebted to Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids who have made valuable contributions on the subject by a scientific and exhaustive treatment of the original source—the Piṭakas and the Jātakas,¹ and all subsequent writers on the subject are more or less indebted to them.

The bulk of the people lived in villages, and agriculture was their main industry, as now. The dwellings of the village clustered together, and round it were the fields of cultivation [Grāma Kshetra], which were divided into small holdings marked by waterways and fencings. Large holdings were rare, and the plots were held in common by the family which was joint. Besides the *kshetras* which were individual or family properties, were common pasture grounds known as *vana* or *dāva*. The herdsman was the *gopālaka*. Besides the peasant-proprietors, there were landless labourers and slaves who were employed by well-to-do land-owners to work in the fields. The king's share of the produce which varied from 1/6 to 1/12 was realised through the village headman (*gāma bhojaka*) who was either a hereditary officer or elected by the village council. The council, an interesting and important feature of village organisation, was composed of the elders of the village [Grāma I'ridbha] perhaps the eldest members and heads of the family, managed all land transactions of the village, e.g., sale, mortgage, endowments etc., helped the headman to maintain local peace and order and carry work of public utility, such as laying roads, making irrigation channels, digging tanks for water-supply, building mote-halls and rest-houses, etc. Life in the village was simple and self-sufficient, for besides agriculture many small crafts and industries subsidiary to it also grew up in the

¹ Cf. Buddhist India, Ch. VI; C.H.I., i., Ch. VIII.

village. Crimes were rare. Men were happy and contented. They developed a study civic spirit and the method of co-operative life. "Even women considered it a civic honour to bear their own part in Municipal building."¹

Arts and crafts attained to a considerable measure of proficiency. The Jātakas mention eighteen crafts organised into śreṇis or guilds, but mention only four, e.g., the wood-workers, the smiths, the leather dressers, and the painters. Some crafts and callings were considered lower and higher according to the nature of the work; for example, hunters, trappers, fishermen, butchers and tanners, snake-charmers, actors, dancers, musicians, rush weavers, etc., were considered lower than ivory-workers, weavers, confectioners, jewellers, and workers in metals, bow and arrow-makers, potters, garland-makers and hair-dressers, etc. The crafts and traders' guilds admitted apprentices or learners who are called in the books *anterasikas*, lit. boarders. The head of the guild organisation was called Jeṭṭhaka. We meet in the [Jātākas I. 308, III. 405, IV. 137] with Jeṭṭhakas of seamen, garland-makers, caravan-traders, guards and robbers.²

We meet in the canonical books with the term *setthi* which probably means a head or a premier merchant. Setthi means by interpretation, best, chief. Probably Anāthapindika and Ghosaka³ the richest merchants of Śrāvasti and Kauśāmbi respectively occupied premier positions among the merchants of those cities. That there were different grades of merchants is clear from such terms in the Jātakas as *Mahasetthi* and *Anuettbi*.

The Jātakas also reveal the fact that partnerships in trade and industry were a common factor. The Kuṣāvāṇija Jātaka, for instance, shows how the two merchants having entered into partnerships with 'an equal interest in the stock-in-trade fell to

¹ C.H.I., Vol. I, Ch. VIII p. 203.

² Ib, p. 207.

³ Author's Early History of Kauśāmbi, p. 7.

quarrelling, because one tried to cheat the other.' The cheating merchant, however, failed to achieve his purpose and the 'two merchants made an equal division and each took half.'¹ In the Suppāraka Jātaka² we find that some merchants together chartered a vessel for sea-trade and engaged a blind pilot who by his great wisdom brought the ship back through immense perils of the sea and the merchants divided among themselves all the gold and silver, jewels, corals and diamonds that they had obtained during the voyage. This suggests partnership. We very often hear of 500 merchants or 100 merchants buying cargoes and selling goods³. Thus there are enough references in the Jātakas to common ships for trading, common guard, and prevention of mutual under-selling, suggesting some sort of corporate partnerships.

Trade, both inland and external, was in a fairly brisk condition. Principal items of export were silk, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth—cutlery, armour, brooches, embroideries, rugs, perfumes, drugs, ivory, ivory-works, jewellery of gold and silver⁴. In the Saṅkha-Jātaka we find that a Brāhman merchant built and fitted a ship laden with merchandise of all sorts to "sail for the 'gold country'"⁵ [Burma and Siam.⁶ Inland trade-routes connecting Śrāvastī with Rājagriha in the east and with the 'borders' as far as Takṣaśīla in the Gandhāra country in the north-west are referred to in the Jātakas in connection with caravans belonging to the rich merchants Anāthapindika of Śrāvastī⁷. In the Sutta-nipāta⁸ we are told that roads from South and West converged at Kauśāmbi for goods and passengers coming to Kośāla and Magadha⁹. We gather

Trade and Trade
Routes.

¹ Cowell's trans. Vol. I, pp. 239-40.

² Ib. p. 88.

³ Chulla Setṭhi Jātaka I. 122; Jāt. XI, 128.

⁴ Buddhist India, p. 98.

⁵ Jāt. IV. 21.

⁶ Cowell's trans. note 1, p. 10.

⁷ Jāt. I. 92; Ib. 377 f.

⁸ Verses 1011-13.

⁹ Early History of Kauśāmbi by the author, p. 7.

from the Vinaya texts that the terminus of the main river route from east to west along the Ganges was Sahajāti whence up the Jumna the route reached Kauśāmbī¹.

We get the name of one sea-port, Bharukachchhā, explicitly mentioned as such in the Jātaka [IV. 137]. It is identified with the modern city of Broach in Kāthiāwād.

Ports and cities. Another sea-port in the Aparāntaka was Suppāraka mentioned in the Dhammapada Commentary² and in the Dīpavamsa [P. 54] and Mahāvamsa [p. 63]. Dr. B.C. Law identifies it with Supāra or Sopārā in the Thana district of Bombay [G.E.B. p. 58] the find-spot of a copy of Aśoka's XIV Rock Edicts. In the Suppāraka Jātaka, however, the name is applied to the master-mariner of a sea-port town. There are references to numerous river-ports, e.g. Kauśāmbī, Sahajāti, reparation cities like Ajodhyā [Ayojjhā] on the Sarayū, Śrāvastī (Sāvastī) on the Rāpti, Kāśī, on the Gangā and Kauśāmbī, Madhurā or Mathurā on the Jumna, Potana [Capital of the Assaka country] on the Godavarī³. Situated on the banks of deep and navigable rivers these cities were large entrepôts of goods and traffic. In the Dīgha Nikāya we find that the six great cities of the time were Champā, Rājagṛiha, Sāvattī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī and Vārāṇasī⁴. The Jātakas provide the names of other cities amongst which may be mentioned first Takshaśilā (Taxila), the greatest seat of learning of time, out of which such prominent scholars as pāṇini, Jivaka, Kautilya graduated in their respective subjects. Besides this Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga [Majjh. Nik., Vol. I, p. 271], Veśālī [Vaiśālī], the capital of the Lichchhavis, Kusinārā, the capital of the Mallas, Ujjeni, the capital of Avantī, Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākya, Mithilā, the capital of the Videhas, Sāgala or Sākala [Mod. Sialkot], the capital of the Madra

¹ Ib.

² Dh. C. II, p. 210.

³ Sutta Nīpāta, verse 977.

⁴ Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta [Dīgha Nikāya].

country¹ are some of the other towns mentioned in the early Buddhist literature.

Markets were held where goods could be sold and bought. Money as a medium of exchange supplementing the system of barter came into general use. The name of the coin used for marketing was *Kaṣāpa* in Pāli literature and *Kārshāpaṇas* in Sanskrit. The *Kārshāpaṇas*; the established coins of Ancient India, is fully known to Pāṇini [c. 500 B.C.]². It was struck both in copper and silver, with marks punched both in the obverse and reverse side of it. Mr. Durga Prasad who handled a large number of pre-Mauryan punched-marked coins has pointed out in his scholarly paper [JRSB, Numismatic supplement, XLVII. p. 76] that the obverse punches generally show in different combinations the figures of sun, circle with arms, arrow-heads, taurine symbols, peacock, dog, tree or hill, elephant, bull, dog, rhino frogs, and a 'sacred tree within a railing,' while the symbols on the reverse are only the marks of punching made by authorities and shroffs in checking them. The larger the number of these marks, the older must be the coin or greater its circulation. A copper *Kārshāpaṇa* weighed 146 grains and a silver *Kārshāpaṇa* of the pre-Mauryan type 'was struck on a standard of 100 rattis (= 180 grains) as against a Mauryan coin of 32 rattis = 56 grains in weight' [Ib].

III

FOREIGN INVASIONS

A. THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

During the period under review we have seen that the small kingdoms and republics of the North-East India were being gradually merged in the Magadha empire which extended as far as the western limits of the Madhyadeśa during the reign of the Nandas. But beyond it lay the North-West India [Uttarāpatha]

¹ Kusa Jātaka, no. 531.

² V. I. 21 ; 27 ; 29 ; 39.

parcelled out into small and warring states, at once wealthy and disunited, offering temptations to the powerful foreign powers beyond its frontiers. Two invasions took place. The first was the Persian invasion and conquest of Gandhāra and the Indus Valley, the second was the invasion and conquest of the Punjab by Alexander the Great.

About the middle of the 6th century B.C. the founder of the great Achaemenian empire Kurush or Cyrus [551—530 B.C.] led an expedition against India through Gedrosia but, as Strabo says, 'had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only'¹. It appears he could not make his power felt beyond the Kabul Valley where, according to Pliny, he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśi².

But Dārayavaush or Darius [c. 522—486 B.C.], the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, was evidently more successful in his attempt at Indian conquests as his Behistun, Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions indicate. In the Behistūn Inscription,³ we find, Gandiāra or Gandhāra is mentioned in the list of his subject countries. In his Persepolis and the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions we find Sindhu [the Indus Valley] mentioned along with Gandhāra. Scholars have assigned the Behistun rock inscription to 518 B.C. at the latest and the Persepolis and the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions to a period between 518 and 515 B.C.⁴ To this period, therefore, the conquest of the Indus Valley must be assigned. The above epigraphic evidence of the Persian conquest of India finds corroboration in the statements of Herodotus who in giving a list of twenty satrapies that Darius established states that the Indian realm was the 'twentieth division' and further adds that the Indians paid a tribute larger than all the rest—three hundred and sixty

¹ PHAI, p. 190.

² *Ib.*

³ D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 4.

⁴ C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 334.

talents of gold dust which is equivalent to a million pounds sterling.¹ In another passage [Hdt. IV. 44] he tells us that about 517 B.C. Darius sent a naval expedition under Scylax [Skylax] to explore the Indus. Skylax was a Greek adventurer in the court of Darius who evidently utilised his services in the exploration and ultimate conquest of the Indian province.

Evidently the Persian hold on the Indian satrapy remained intact during the reign of Khshayārshā [Xerxes], as his inscription in Persepolis² shows. In it are mentioned Gandhār and Sindhu in the list of his satrapies. This is further proved by the presence of an Indian force in his army which he marshalled to invade Greece. Herodotus [VII. 65] describes the equipment of the Indian forces in the army of Xerxes as follows: "The Indians, clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows and cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped in iron." It seems probable that Persian domination on the north-western borders of India remained up to the time of the last Achaemenian emperor Darius III, for, if Arrian is to be believed, Darius III employed also Indian troops when he fought his last battle against Alexander at Arbela in 330 B.C.³

Although the political domination of Persia touched only the fringe of India, the contact was not without its beneficial results to both countries in several aspects. As a matter of fact the Indo-Persian relationship dates back to hoary antiquity, long before the Achaemenian conquest of the Indian borderlands in the sixth century B.C. The Aryan ancestors of the Hindus and Persians once formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock. The students of the Veda and the Avesta find ample evidence of this historic relationship of the two peoples through "ties of common Aryan blood, close kinship in language and tradition, and through near affinities in the matter of religions

¹ Ib. p. 335 ; Cf. Herodotus III, 94.

² Select Inscriptions, p. 14.

³ CHI, Vol. I. p. 341.

beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs.”¹ A certain relationship is acknowledged to exist between the Vedic god Varuṇa and the Avestan deity Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism. There are points of kinship between the Indian Mitra and the Iranian Mithra and in less degree between the victorious Indra Vṛitrahān of the Ṛigveda and the all-triumphant Verethraghna of the Avestan Yashts. There are also similarities between Yama and Yima or of the cognate use made by the Aryans and Persians of the sacred drink *soma* and *haoma* in their religious rites. Scores of such similarities and likenesses can be cited to prove the long-established affinity of the two peoples of Irān and India.²

The discovery in 1907 at Bōghaz-Kōi in North-Eastern Asia Minor of some cuneiform inscriptions lends epigraphic evidence of the statements given above. These documents give a record of treaties between the kings of Mitāni and of the Hittites about 1400 B.C. Among the deities called to witness are the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya [the two Aśvins] most of whom appear, as we have seen, in the Avesta.

As a result of the political contact due to the Achaemenian conquest of the Indus Valley other factors of this ancient relationship grew up. Trade and cultural exchange between the two countries received a fillip. Persian scribes introduced into India the Aramaic form of writing which later developed into the well known Kharoṣṭhī found mostly in the tablets in the north-western parts of India. Some scholars also think that the pillared-hall of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra, his edicts on Rocks and Pillars and his bell-shaped capitals on Pillars owe their origin to the Persian influence in the Achaemenian period. In fact, the Mauryan art which reached its apex in the time of Aśoka, bears an undeniable stamp of the Persian art which in its turn, was to some extent influenced by contact with the Greeks in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

¹ Ib. p. 319.

² Ib. p. 320.

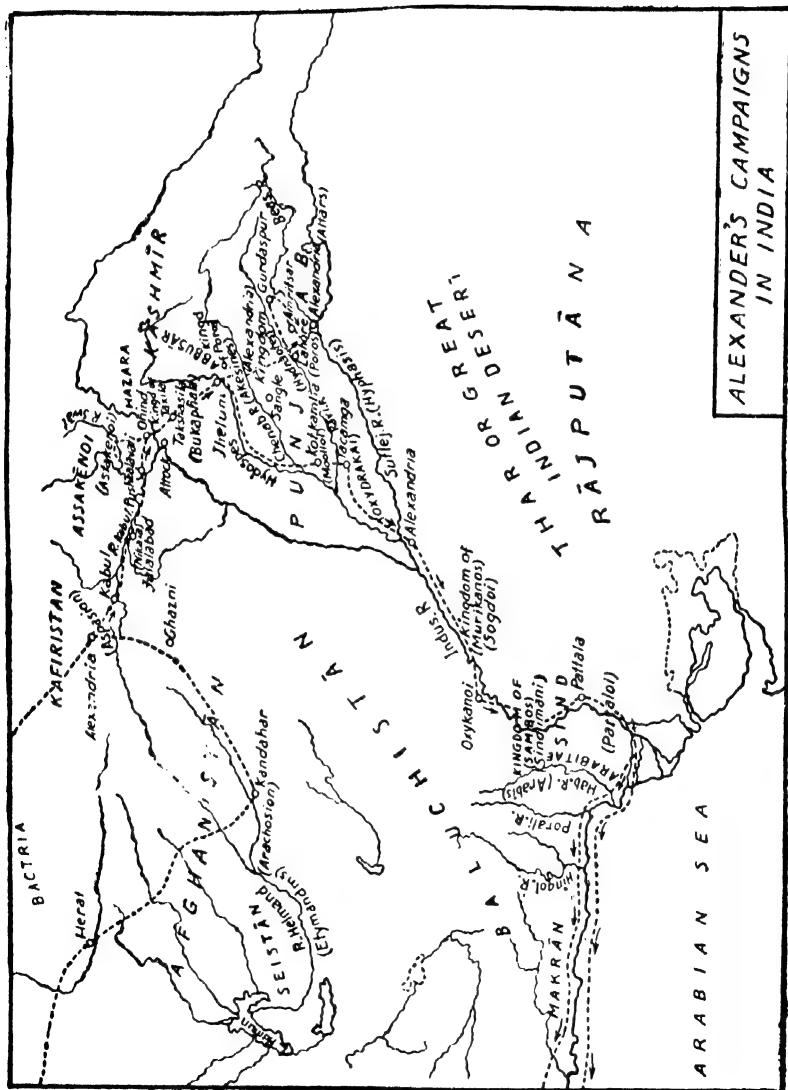
B. ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN IN INDIA

To the Persians, Greece owes her first knowledge of India. The Persian Emperor Darius had both Greeks and Indians as his subjects. Indian troops formed a formidable Division of the army of Xerxes. They marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae and shared the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea. There was a cultural connection already established between Greece and India before the advent of Alexander in our country. Prof. Rawlinson writes a story¹ of the meeting of an Indian philosopher and Socrates based on a passage of Eusebeus [330 B.C.] which he recently came across. Alexander's companions testify to the fact that Alexander had heard much about Indian philosophers and hermits and was keen to meet some of them.

After beating down the last resistance of the Persian Empire in its easternmost province of Balkh [Bactria] Alexander planted a Greek colony in that beautiful country and made it the base of operations for his Indian attack. From Bactria he moved on to Kābul from where he prepared to march on India. Here he divided his forces. The bulk of his force he sent direct through the Khyber Pass. The Khyber Pass was not defended by any Indian power of the Punjab which was divided into many rival kingdoms and republics. Two well-known rulers of the Punjab were Ambhi, the Rājā of Taxila, who ruled the land between the Indus and the Jhelum and Porus [Paurava] who ruled the territory between the Jhelum and the Rāvi. If these two kings wanted, they could offer a combined and effective opposition to Alexander's main army at either end of the Khyber Pass or when the Greeks attempted to cross the Indus. But as fate would have it, these two powerful rulers of the Punjab were too jealous of each other to be able to combine to guard effectively the India's strategic pass, which, as history tells us, let into the country hordes of foreigners times without number unopposed; for back of an organized national defence of our frontiers in ancient and mediaeval times. Intent

¹ The Amrita Bazar Patrika; Weekly Magazine Section; November 22; 1936.

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA



on seeking adventures, Alexander himself moved up the mountain tracts and river valleys, inhabited by fierce and war-like tribes who offered a dogged resistance to him. He fought with them many a bloody engagement in one of which his life was in grave danger. Unaffected with modern civilisation, their descendants living in the mountain homes in the north-west frontier retain even today the war-like nature and spirit of independence of their forefathers.

Marching along the route north of the Kābul river into the mountainous regions of the Kunar and Swat Valleys he met for the first time with the opposition of an Indian people called the *Aśvakas* [Gr. Assakēnoi] who lived in the middle of the Swat Valley and offered a stiff and dogged resistance to the Europeans. At one place Alexander was wounded and the whole population was put to the sword in revenge. The *Aśvakas* having been defeated in several battles on the field finally fell back on their strongly fortified citadel, Massaga which was taken by Alexander after an exceptionally ferocious and bloody battle after their chief Assakēnos was killed being struck by a missile from one of the European siege guns.

A little west of the *Aśvakas* and on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor lived the aristocratic republic of the *Nysaeans* who claimed descent from Dionysus known in Greek heroic tales as the god of Bacchanalian revellers and pointed out to the invader the similarity of their name to the birth-place of their ancestor at Nysa¹ and the abundance of the sacred plants of the god, the vine and ivy. Alexander gladly acknowledged their kinship and allowed his weary troops to take rest and participate in the Bacchanalian revels with their kinsmen.

In the meantime the other division of the Macedonians emerged into the plain of Peshāwar through the Khyber Pass about the end of 327 B.C. This region formed part of the kingdom of the *Asta-*

¹ Nysa was the name of either the nurse or the birth-place of Dionysus, C. I. I. Vol. I, P. 354.

*kenoi*¹ whose capital was Pushkalāvati [Charsada] at the lower end of the Swat river. The Rājā instead of offering submission shut himself in his walled town. But the superior force of the invaders beat him down and destroyed him. Alexander having reduced the tribes in the hills to the north came down to *Pushkalāvati* and set a Macedonian garrison in the town under an officer named *Philip*. He then moved to take possession of the various small towns between Pushkalāvati and the Indus and struck the Indus at a point some distance above where the other division had already reached. Alexander, a part of his force floating down the river, joined his main army at a place called *Obind*, 16 miles above Attock, where a bridge of boats for crossing the Indus was already constructed by his generals. The crossing was made without any incident as Ambhi, the king of Taxila [Takshaśilā] whose territory lay east of the Indus had already submitted and opened the gates of the city to welcome the invader. Alexander concluded a treaty of subordinate alliance with Ambhi and confirmed him in his possession of his territory. At Taxila, Alexander received the report of a number of Indian ascetics practising their *tapasyā* and sent one of his officers, Onesicritus, a disciple of *Diogenes*, to invite them to meet himself. Onesicritus himself writes, as found in Strabo, that he found fifteen ascetics some ten miles from the city, sitting naked and motionless in a sun so burning that one could not even walk over the stones with bare feet. He communicated to the ascetics that the Yavana king would like to learn their wisdom. One of the ascetics said bluntly ‘no one coming in the bravery of Europeans clothes—cavalry cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots such as the Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that, he must strip naked and bear to sit on the hot stones beside them.’² Another praised Alexander for his desire to know something of the deep wisdom but said that it would be difficult

¹ Ashtakas ?

² Cf. Strabo XVI. C. 715.

for them to teach and for him to understand their teaching through mere interpretations. On being asked by him whether there were any such teaching among the Yavanas, Onescritus told them of Pythagoras, Socrates and his old master Diogenes. The Rājā of Taxila ultimately persuaded one of these ascetics to accompany Alexander in wordly clothes to the great chagrin of his fellow ascetics. Greeks came to call him Kalanos probably because they had heard the word 'Kalyāna' [lucky] when he exchanged greetings with his countrymen¹.

Having been feted and toasted at Taxila and supplied with forces and provisions by its King Ambhi, Alexander moved on eastward and reached the bank of the Vitastā [Hydaspes, mod.

Jhelum]. At this point Alexander met with his first and strongest opposition from an Indian

power. King Porus, the Paurava king of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenāb² prepared to meet the invader on the banks of the Hydaspes [Jhelum].

King Porus. He sent for help to the Rājā of Abhiśāra, the country east of the Upper Jhelum, bordering on modern Kaśmir. But that king prevaricated pending the issue of the battle. Nothing daunted, the brave Indian king, whose memory should be worshipped as one of the heroes of India history, arrange his troops to prevent the crossing of the river. So formidable did the Indian army appear to Alexander who was encamped on the other side that he did not attempt the crossing directly in the face of the brave and determined enemy. So

days passed without any engagement. One dark night which was particularly bad with rain and thunder Alexander silently moved with his army some seventeen miles away from the Indian camp opposite, leaving his own camp outwardly intact with lights burning, and men singing to deceive the enemy. Taking advantage of a bend and using a bushy island as a

¹ Arr. VII. 2. 4; Strabo. C. 174 f.

² Greek-Asiknī known in Skt. literature as the Chandra-bhāgā.

cover Alexander crossed the river¹ with about 11,000 of his picked men. It was an unwelcome surprise to Porus who, however, without losing courage, dispatched his son with rather an inadequate force of 2,000 men and 120 chariots. It was unwise of Porus to send such a small force. The young prince did not lack courage, but was easily routed and killed.

Porus himself now moved to offer battle. He had with him as the Greek writers tell us, 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, 13,000 chariots and 130 elephants. The line of battle-front was drawn up as follows: The elephants in the centre; the line of foot lay behind and on each side of the elephants; cavalry was stationed to guard either flank, with chariots in front of them. The Indian army waited for the attack of the enemy who started it with the mounted archers upon the Indian left and plied the cavalry with their arrows which could not be adequately replied to by the Indian archers because of the rain-sodden soil on which they could not get a firm rest for their long bows. For the same reason the chariots also proved useless as they, to quote Curtius, 'kept sticking in the muddy sloughs for the rain (of the previous night) and proved almost unable.'² The attack was followed by a cavalry charge by Alexander himself which created utter confusion in the Indian ranks. Indians, however, fought with great courage and vigour and as Plutarch says, 'obstinately maintained their ground till the eighth hour of the day.' Thus partly due to superior leadership of Alexander and partly due to the unfortunate rain of the previous night the battle was lost to us. The great Paurava king who led the battle from the back of a huge elephant which matched his great stature did not take to flight even when his army was routed

¹ It is not clear from the Greek accounts whether Alexander moved up or down river. It is, however, probable, as the current was strong and silence was imperative, that he would rather glide down than move up the river for the crossing. But the exact point of crossing can be fixed with certainty only if the location of the bend of the river and the forested island which was used as a cover can be positively found.

² Curtius, VIII, p. 208.

and he himself received several gashing wounds in his body. He fought to the last and was ultimately taken prisoner in a weak and fainting condition due to loss of blood. Alexander was so impressed with the gallant fight of the brave royal patriot, now his prisoner, that he treated him with courtesy and generosity. He not only restored him his old kingdom but added to it the districts he acquired farther east and made him his friendly ally.

Having founded two towns, one called *Nicaea* on the field of battle to celebrate his victory, and the other, Bucephala, to commemorate the death of his faithful horse of the same name,

Alexander advanced into the region between the Hydaspes [Jhelum] and Asikni [Chenāb]. On the eastern bank of the Chenāb lived a people whom the Greeks call Glauganikai who had

hitherto retained independence against Paurava. Dr. Jayaswal identified them with the *Glauchukāyana* found in the *Kāśikā*, a commentary of the Pāṇini. Dr. Raychaudhuri, however, doubts the identification and suggests some similarity with 'the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period.'¹ The name Sanakānikas as a people occurs twice in the Gupta inscriptions. First, in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta where they are mentioned along with the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, etc., who were neighbours and once lived in the Punjab and had evidently moved east and south after they had lost their independence in their homeland. The Sanakānikas who are again mentioned in the Udayagiri inscription of the time of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, lived at that time in the region of modern Gwalior [Central India]. It may be that the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period may have been known as the Glauchukāyana in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C. when the Greeks came and called them Glauganikai. They had, as Arrian says, *thirty-seven walled towns*, each containing between 5000 and 10,000 inhabitants.² They submitted before the superior force of the Macedonian army, and their principality was given to Porus.

¹ PHAI, p. 167.

² Arrian, V. 20. Mc Crindle's *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 112.

At this time news of the revolt of the subdued tribes west of the Indus against his Satraps Nikanor and Saṣigupta and of the murder of the former reached Alexander who at once sent Philip to meet the situation. Philip who was then in charge of the Greek interests in the kingdom of Taxila suppressed the revolts. This was the first signal of the disruptive forces below the surface which overwhelmed the Greeks within a few years.

The Rājā of Abhisāra, in the hills east of modern Kashmīr, who was sitting on the fence, pending the issue of the battle with Porus now hastened his submission to Alexander, immediately after the suppression of the revolts with which he had no doubt secret sympathy. The presents sent by him to Alexander's camp included forty elephants.

A Younger scion of the Paurava family, a nephew of the Great Porus, who ruled the territory east of the Chenāb, submitted and his territory, like that of the Glauganikai, was added to the realm of the Elder Porus.

The king pressed forward and by August 326 B.C. crossed the Rāvi [the ancient Parushnī or Irāvati], which the Greeks called Hydraotes. Beyond this river dwelt a people whom the Greeks called *Adraistai* and who may have been the same as the Arishtas of Pānini or Adrijas of the Mahābhārata.¹ Their capital Pimprana was reduced by Alexander.

The next people whom Alexander reduced in the region between the *Rāvi and the Beas* were the Kathaiol. *Kathaiol* who probably represent the Sanskrit Katha.

Their stronghold Sangala, to be located somewhere in the Gurudāspur district, was raised to² the ground. Sangla stormed. The citadel was bravely defended by the people as long as they could, 17,000 of the defenders dying by the sword.

¹Mbh. VII. 159. 5.

The kingdom of Saubhūti [Gr. Sophytes] lay somewhere east of the Jhelum. He easily submitted to the Greeks and made friends with them. The Greek writers speak admiringly about the good custom of the people, their handsome appearance and the excellence of the administration. We have several coins bearing his name in Greek and Sophytes.

Marching eastward the Macedonian king reached the fifth and the last river of the Indus system—the Hyphasis [modern Beas] which branched off from the Sutlej [Sutudri] towards north and east at a point considerably above its course. Here he paused to take stock of the situation. East of this river lay the great empire of the Nandas of whose strength, wealth and splendour he had heard a good deal. His troops were weary and he had tasted the strength at the Hydaspes of a small but determined Indian power. He did not like to risk an encounter with a well-organised and powerful imperial power whose standing army, as found in the Greek records, far out-numbered his own. He determined to retreat from this point with his glory untarnished, before a defeat which would mean disaster to him. Having erected twelve huge stone altars to mark the limit of his Indian Campaign, he turned back, and following the same route came to the bank of the Hydaspes about the end of July 326 B.C.

Here he prepared a fleet and sailed down the river, protected on both banks by troops until he reached its confluence with the Akesines [Chenāb]. The two peoples who lived about this region were the *Siboi*, [Skt. Sivas]¹ and the *Aglassians* [Skt. Agrasrenis].

They offered gallant resistance, the former with 40,000 foot, and the latter with 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse, but were overpowered by Alexander who also suffered serious losses in his ranks. According to Curtius the Agalassians realising their desperate position “set fire to their houses, and cast themselves along with their

¹ Rīgveda VII. 18. 7; Mbh. 130-31.

Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-82.

wives and children into the flames"¹, a practice later followed by the Rajputs, is known in the mediaeval history as *Jauhar*.

But the toughest opposition which Alexander met during his down journey was from the *Mallois* [Skt. *Mālavas*] and the *Oxydrakai* [Skt. *Kshudrakas*], after he glided further down the

Hydaspes at its confluence with the *Rāvi*. Here
 The Malavas and the Kshudrakas the two brave and independent republican peoples, the Malloi and the Oxydrakai, lived; the former in the Doāb between the Chenāb and the Rāvi, and the latter east of the Rāvi. The two peoples, formerly at enmity with each other, now coalesced together and gathered an army of 90,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 900 chariots to face the common enemy. This was one of the early examples of the confederation of Indian republics for a specific purpose. The resistance offered by them was another bright spot in the history of Indian resistance to the foreign invader. Alexander received a serious wound when he assailed the stronghold of the Malloi which was taken after a bloody contest, followed by a ferocious massacre of men, women and children. The fall of the Malloi was naturally followed by the submission of the Oxydrakai. Alexander extended the satrapy of Philip to include their territories. Further down the river system Alexander passed through the territories of other tribes recorded in Greek accounts as *Abastanoi* [Skt. *Ambashṭhas*], *Nathroi* [Skt. *Kshatri*] and *Ossadioi*, identified with the *Vasāti* of the *Mahābhārata*² who either submitted or were reduced by force. When he reached the last confluence where the *Asikni*, carrying in it the waters of the other rivers, united with the *Indus*, Alexander halted and planted another Hellenistic city which marked the southern limit of the satrapy of Philip.

The country down the *Indus* below its last confluence was then subjugated. The Greeks record that here the
 Subjugation of the lower Indus Valley. Brāhmins had a more effective ascendancy. In political organisation they found here princi-

¹ Curtius IX. 4.

² PHAI, p. 173; Mbh. VII, 19. 11, 89-37; VIII, 44. 49.

palities ruled by Rājās unlike the country of free tribes they just passed through. Alexander first received the submission of the king of *Sogdoi* or *Sodrai*. They are, according to Dr. Raychaudhuri, to be identified with the Sūdras of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Abhīras living near the now extinct Sarasvatī.¹

The greatest principality in this region was that of Mousikanos, the king of the Mūshikas who submitted after a brave resistance. His capital was Alor [Map No. 2].

Another chief whom the Greeks call Sambos [Skt. Sambhu ?] was a neighbour of the Mūshikas. He easily submitted to Alexander. His capital was named Sindimana, identified with Schwan, a city on the Indus.

The last city which Alexander conquered in the Lower Indus Valley was Patala which as Diodorus [XVII 104] says was remarkable for having a constitution like that of Sparta providing for two hereditary kings.² This region of the lower Indus Valley he constituted into a new Satrapy and placed it under Pithon.

With this ended the military conquests of Alexander in India during his stay in the country for nearly two years from 326 B.C. to the autumn of the following year. In September 325 B.C. Alexander finally left the Indian soil. At Patala he made a division of his forces. One portion he sent by sea under Nearchus. A second portion was to pass through the Bolan Pass under the command of Craterus. The third division he led himself through the most difficult and waterless region of Makran deserts. He joined his comrades in Persia after enormous suffering.

¹ PHAI, p. 173. Also Patañjali I. 2. 3.

² Mc Crindle—Invasion of Alexander, p. 296.

Alexander's Indian campaign had certain effects on the history of India. By destroying the independence of many tribal states in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander paved the way of Chandrapupta to give to the north-west India a political unity; which it had lacked so far and then to link it up with the united Nanda Empire in the east which he inherited after a successful revolution. Dr. Raychaudhuri truly remarks : 'If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma [Mahāpadma Nanda] was the predecessor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east ; Alexander was the fore-runner of that empire in the north-west'.¹ Alexander's campaign resulted in the opening up of four distinct routes by land and sea, which brought India and the west into closer contact with each other, facilitating trade and cultural exchanges between them.

Strabo [XI. 509] says that the Oxus (Amu Daria) joined a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to Europe by way of the Caspian and the Black Sea. He cites Patrocles, who was an admiral in the service of Antiochus I, the son and successor of Seleucus Nikator, that the route was a popular one in the third century B.C. Evidence of the prosperity of Central Asia and a brisk trade with India at this period is also furnished by the coins of Greek models minted in Babylon and found in several hoards in the N. W. India.²

The clearly dated records of Alexander's Indian campaign left by his companions helped to build Indian chronology for subsequent political events on a definite basis.

Besides, two other distant cultural effects of his campaign must also be noticed.

1. One of Alexander's motives of his world campaign was to spread Greek culture and civilisation in the conquered lands. For this purpose he planted many Greek colonies in Asia. One of these colonies was planted in Bactria. During the days of the weak successors of Aśoka, the Greek kings of Bactria emulated Alexander's exploits by invading India and annexed considerable

¹ PHAI, p. 175.

² See C.H.I. Vol. I, pp. 433-34.

territories in the Punjab and the North-western India. One of the important contributions to Indian culture which these Indo-Greek or Indo-Bactrian kings made was the improvement of the Indian coinage. The coins of the Indo-Greek rulers discovered in Taxila replaced the older Indian punch-marked and ill-shaped ones, and the subsequent coins of India were cast on well-shaped Greek models.

2. During the reign of the great emperor Kanishka, Bactria was subject to Indian rule. He invited many Graeco-Bactrian sculptors to Gandhāra for making images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas which represent a blending of the Greek and the Indian art in image-making. The rise of this new type of sculpture, known as the Gandhāra school of Art, is another distant effect of Alexander's campaign in India and her borderlands.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAURYAN AGE, 400-200 B.C.

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

In the Mauryan Age we are ushered into a new era in the history of the country. In this age the whole of India was politically united for the first time under one head and rule. She also claimed supremacy over lands beyond the borders. She evolved a system of administration which for its efficiency and smooth-running claims admiration of even modern writers. She rose not only to be a great political power in and outside India, but avenged her defeat at Hydaspes by defeating Greek armies on another battle-field. She became during this age the cultural ambassador of the world, sending out missionaries to spread India's civilisation and religion to all parts of the globe. Aśoka's messengers of Dhamma to foreign countries fulfilled their mission by carrying out actual measures of humanitarian service in the relief of sufferings of all humanity. His religious policy was broad-based on toleration and universal brotherhood which did not recognise natural frontiers or geographical boundaries. This is how Maurya India, through one of its greatest rulers, sought to build up a new world based on peace, brotherhood and cultural unity.

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

C. 322—298 B.C.

The man who ushered this age in all its glory and splendour was Chandragupta Maurya. The parentage of this remarkable man is unfortunately still wrapped in mystery. His parentage hitherto accepted by many scholars including Dr. Vincent Smith is based on the Brāhmaṇic literature which represents him to be an illegitimate scion of the royal Nanda dynasty and states that his dynastic name is derived from that of, his mother Murā, a woman of 'lowly origin.' But according to (*Pāṇini* IV. 1. 113; *Siddh. Kaum.* 1116) the metronymic form of the son of Murā ' is *Maurah* and not, *Mauryah* which is the patronymic form

for the son of Mura (IV. 1. 151. and *Siddh Kaum.* 1175).¹ But the Buddhist literature describes him to be a scion of the Moriya dynasty and a Kshatriya.² A passage in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya represents the Moriyas as a ruling Kshatriya clan of Pippalivana.³ The Buddhist version appears to be more probable.

From the accounts found in the Mudrārākshasa and the records of the Greek writers, *e. g.*, Plutarch and Justin,⁴ and reconciling them with the Buddhist accounts of his parentage, we may reasonably construct a reliable account of his early life : Pippalivana which was an independent republic had lost its independence and was included in the Nanda empire which comprised the whole of Northern India as far as Kāliṅga in the south and the Beas in the west. All accounts agree that although a powerful ruler of a vast and wealthy empire, Mahāpadma Nanda was a very unpopular king on account of his extortions and anti-Brāhmanical attitude. The ambitious young scion of the once independent clan of the Moriyas or Mauryas took the leadership of the wide discontent. Having thus incurred the displeasure of the imperial court, he fled to the Punjab which was outside the realm of the Nanda rule. Here he met Alexander and gathered experience of war on a large scale. This stage of his life is exactly similar to that of Sher Shah who, a similar exile from home, had gained the same experience, having resided as a guest in the camp of Babur while the battle of Panipat was fought.

The political condition of the Punjab offered Chandragupta a great opportunity. As soon as Alexander left the Indian soil events moved unfavourably for the Greeks. The satrapal system

of government introduced by Alexander after the Persian model did not work well. Alexander's greatest Satrap Philip was murdered in 325 B.C. The cause of this murder according to Arrian

Liberation of the Punjab from the Greek by Chandragupta.

¹ Read for detailed study the learned article of Mr. C. D. Chatterji on *Early Life of Chandragupta Maurya from Jaina Sources*. B. C. Law Vol. I, pp. 590—610.

² Mahāvamsa [Ed., Geiger] p. 30.

Divyāvadāna [Cowell and Neil's Edition] p. 370.

³ Dig. Nik. [Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta].

⁴ Life of Alexander, LXII.

was 'jealousy of the Greeks and Macedonians.'¹ But it may also be attributed to the discontent of the people with foreign rule.² Alexander instead of sending a new satrap in his place left the administration of the Satrapy to the King of Taxila. This was the first indication of the eventual relaxation of the Greek hold on the Indian conquests. Then happened in 323 B.C. the unexpected event of Alexander's death in Babylon which was immediately followed by a scramble for power among his generals. Two partition treaties dividing the empire among themselves were the result of the civil war. The first in Babylon in 323 B. C. and the second in Triparadisus in 321 B. C.

In the second partition treaty 'no part of India to the east of the Indus' was included as part of the empire. The Greek governor of Sind, Pithon was now removed, and placed in charge of the province between the Indus and the Paropanisus. Eudemos was the solitary Greek agent lingering on in India, but had no official position in the empire and is ignored in the partitions.³ This undoubtedly had to account for the fact that some leader of outstanding genius took up the leadership of the independence-loving peoples of the Punjab and drove the Greeks beyond the Indus before 321 B.C. when the second partition at Triparadisus took place. This leader and author of the liberation was Chandragupta. Among the Greek writers Justin alone refers to this event. He says : "India, after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus."⁴

After the liberation of the Punjab Chandragupta turned his attention to overthrow the Nandas from the imperial throne of Magadha. For this exciting episode in the life of Chandragupta our principal sources are the Indian literatures, which preserve the tradition of this great event. The Brāhman, the Buddhist and Jain books, all refer to it and agree on the fundamental fact that Chandragupta

¹ Arrian VI. 27, 2.

² Dr. R.K. Mookerji, Chandragupta Maurya and His Times, p.49.

³ Ib. pp. 50-51. Cf. Diodorus.

⁴ Justin, XV. 4. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrain, Mc Crindle's translation, p. 7.

ousted the Nandas from the imperial throne of Magadha and established his own dynasty on it. This tradition preserved in the earlier books has been presented in a more graphic manner and in detail by the skilfully constructed drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, composed about the fifth or sixth century A. D. According to this drama his principal ally was Parvataka. The suggested identification of parvataka with Porus by Dr. F. W. Thomas is illuminating.¹ The reasons are obvious. Porus was the greatest power in the Punjab left as a trusted ally of Alexander and held territories which lay between the Upper Punjab and the portions of the Nanda empire. It was necessary that he should be won over as an important ally in the confederacy of which Chandragupta was the head before he could invade the Magadha empire. The dramatist makes Chāṇakya, the minister of Chandragupta, contrive the death of Parvataka. But the deep offence which Porus gave to Eudemos, the representative of Greek interests still left in India, by this betrayal of his master's trust in him makes a stronger presumption in favour of the Greek account that it was Eudemos and not Chāṇakya who contrived his murder. The event took place in 317 B.C. long after the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Magadha. It may be said in favour of Porus that he was a patriot and had never accepted foreign supremacy with grace. Naturally, therefore, he easily joined the forces of Chandragupta who had distinguished himself as a successful organiser of the forces of liberation from the foreign Yoke in the Upper Punjab and Sind. There is no doubt that the political intrigue of the highly intellectual Brāhman diplomat Chāṇakya, the guide, philosopher and friend of Chandragupta, had much to do with the valuable alliance, or for the matter of that, with the conduct of the whole revolution. Tradition has it that the sensitive Brāhman had a personal grudge against the reigning Nanda. The details of the matter are not quite clear in the drama. But from independent evidences it is clear that many hard and bloody battles had to be fought before Chandragupta could destroy the Nandas and win the throne. We have already

¹ C.H.I., Vol. I. p. 471.

seen the military strength of the Nanda empire. A passage in the *Milinda pañha*¹ states that "100 Kotis of soldiers, 10,000 elephants, 1 lac of horses and 5,000 chariots" were killed in action and that Bhaddasāla was the commander of Nanda's army. The figures of the casualties, though given in exaggerated terms, undoubtedly point to a bloody battle.

We may place the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha and the beginning of the Maurya sovereignty in c. 322 B.C. with reasonable certainty. Let us examine this question of date with the help of some available data :

A few important dates of impeccable certainty obtained from the Greek source are very helpful. In 325 B.C. Philip was murdered as a result of the revolt of the Agvāyans against the Greek rule. In 323 B.C. Alexander suddenly died. The same year a scramble among his generals for share of his empire resulted in a partition of the same at Babylon. This was followed by a second partition of the empire at Triparadisus in 321 B.C. In this partition treaty no mention was made of any Greek Satrapy east of the Indus. This shows that the Greeks were driven beyond the Indus and the whole of the Punjab and the Cis-Indus regions were absorbed to a new Indian empire under Chandragupta by 321 B.C. The events leading up to this eventuality, namely, the liberation of the Punjab, the destruction of the Nandas, accession to the imperial throne of Magadha and the absorption of the Punjab and the Indus region took place in the two years between 323 B. C. when Alexander died, and the 321 B. C. when the second partition treaty at Triparidisus was concluded. [The preparation for the war of independence having started with the murder of Philip in 325 B. C. even before Alexander left the indian soil]. So the year 322 B. C. is the most probable date when Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha and followed it up by absorbing the liberated Punjab and the other Greek territories east of the Indus to his empire before the year 321 B.C. ran out.

¹ Pāli Text, p. 292.

The year 322 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession also finds corroboration from an examination of other evidences. An important Chinese record, known as the "Dotted Record"¹ kept in Canton, is the only available chronology, from year to year of the great event of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. The dots were started presumably from the year of Buddha's death and were continued upto the year 489 A.D. when the total number of dots amounted to 975. If one year is allowed for the dots to be started, the year of Parinirvāṇa according to it was [975 + 1—489] 487 B.C. Now, according to the Pāli records 'Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after Parinibbāna [Mahāvamsa, Geiger's note]. According to the same authority 'four years elapsed after his accession when he consecrated himself at Pāṭaliputra' [Ib. IV. 22]. Therefore, Aśoka's accession took place in 273 B.C. and his coronation in 269 B.C.

Now, if we take the two dates of 322 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession and 273 B.C. as that of Aśoka's, as obtained from two independent sources discussed above, they also admirably fit in with the indigenous Purāṇic records which give Chandragupta 24 years and to his son Bindusāra, a reign of 25 years, making Aśoka's accession in [322—24+25] 273 B.C.

Chandragupta's military strength was soon tested. Seleukus Nikator, one of Alexander's generals in the east, made himself supreme in Western and Central Asia after a protracted struggle with his rival, Antigonos, another general of Alexander [312 B.C.]. The eastern provinces of his realm touched the borders of India and desiring to emulate the exploits of Alexander, he invaded India in 305 B.C. Chandragupta met him in battle and gave him a crushing defeat. The exact spot where the battle was fought is not mentioned in Greek records. But the fact of the Greek defeat can be gathered from the records of Strabo who states in detail the terms of the humiliating treaty which Seleukus was obliged to sign. By this treaty, Seleukus had to cede to Chandragupta the

Defeat of Seleukus Nikator.

¹ J. Takakusu, JRAS, 1896, p. 436 ff.

territories of Arachosia [Kandahar], Paropanisadae [Kabul], Gedrosia [Baluchistān] and Aria [Herāt]. Chandragupta treated his vanquished enemy with courtesy and generosity. He presented him with five hundred elephants and cemented his friendship with the Asiatic Greek monarch by a marriage alliance if Appian is to be believed.¹

Seleukus sent to the court of Chandragupta at Pāṭaliputra an ambassador named Megasthenes. Megasthenes was a keen observer of things and possessed an historical mind. The records of his observations about the court, the condition of the people of the country and the administration of the king are a valuable primary source of history of the Mauryan period.

There are no clear and direct contemporary records, either Greek or indigenous, of his wars and conquests in India, after his accession to the imperial throne, except the one with the Greek king of Syria, Seleukus Nikator, already described. The fact that Aśoka found himself at his accession master of the land as far south as Mysore shows that Southern India up to the borders of the Tamil countries had already been conquered and annexed to the Mauryan empire. Aśoka's inscriptions at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara in the district of Mysore, the Goviṃath and the Pāl-kigunḍu inscriptions in the Kopbul Taluk, the Maski inscription in the Deccan in the Nizam's dominion, and the Gooti inscription in the Karnal district declare Aśoka's sovereignty over almost the whole of the South except the southernmost Tamil countries of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, Satya-putras and Keralaputras who according to Rock Edicts II and XIII lived beyond his frontiers. RE XIII further informs us that Aśoka's first and only conquest was Kāliṅga. Therefore, the question arises that if Aśoka did not conquer the South, who did it? There is, of course, the possibility that Bindusāra might have done it. His title of *Amitraghāta* [slayer of enemies] shows that he was not a pacifist like Aśoka and that it might have been earned by him by some of his con-

¹ C.I.I. Vol. 1. p. 431.

quests. The *Arya Manjusrī Mulakalpa*, a Mahāyāna work of about the 8th or 9th century A. D., the celebrated Jaina author Hemachandra (1200 A. D.) and the Tibetan historian Tārānātha (C. 1400 A. D.) state that Chāṇakya, the apostle of violence, outlived Chandragupta and continued as a minister of Bindusāra. According to Tārānātha "Chāṇakya accomplished the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns and made Bindusāra master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." This is all the evidence in favour of ascribing the conquest of the south and west to Bindusāra, as some scholars have done.

The testimony of Tārānātha can easily be disposed of by more authentic documentary records. The Girnar Rock inscription of Rudradāmana describes Saurāstra, the territory on the 'Western Sea' as a province of Chandragupta's empire, and RE.XIII tell us that Aśoka himself conquered Kālīṅga, the territory on the 'eastern sea,' eight years after his consecration. So far as the South is concerned there is not the slightest reference anywhere that Bindusāra even went to the South. Moreover, we have somewhat discouraging evidence against Bindusāra's capacity as a conqueror. When his province of Taxila revolted he sent his son Aśoka to quell the revolt, instead of going himself, as a military leader would delight to do. The Greek accounts reveal that one of his chief delights in life was "figs and sweet wine" and discussion with 'philosophers.' This shows that he was a man of somewhat easy and leisurely temperament and that it was enough if he was able to leave intact the vast empire he had inherited without making additional conquests. So if it is true that Bindusāra did not conquer the South and that Aśoka inherited it, the conclusion is irresistible that Chandragupta had conquered it. Moreover we get some literary and epigraphic references of Chandragupta's connection with the South which we do not find about Bindusāra.

According to an early Jaina tradition recorded later in books¹ and epigraphs, the Jaina Pontiff Bhadrabāhu, in consequence of a severe famine in Bihar, led a migration of Jainas into the South. This is the beginning which later led to the great schism of the

¹ Brihat-Kathā-Kośha by Harishēṇa [C. 931 A.D.]
Bhadrabāhu-Charita by Ratnanand [C.1450; Rājvalikathe].

Jain as into Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects. According to the *Rājavalikathe*, Chandragupta, the "king of Pāṭaliputra," abdicated the throne in favour of his son and followed Bhadrabāhu as his disciple. He became his chief disciple, attended him at his death at Śravaṇa [Śramaṇa] Belgola where he lived on as an ascetic for some years till he died of starvation according to Jaina practice.¹

That this tradition was believed to be true as early as 600 A.D. is proved by a southern epigraphic record of that year which associates Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta *Muni*. Two inscriptions of about 900 A. D. on the Kāverī near Seringapatam describe the summit of a hill called Chandragiri as marked by the footprints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta *Munipati*. A Śravaṇa Belgola inscription of 1129 also has associated together Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta.²

In addition to this striking epigraphic evidence there is a significant monumental evidence. A small hill at Śravaṇa Belgola, is called *Chandragiri*. The local tradition is that the hill is so called because Chandragupta lived and performed his penance here. On the hill is a cave called Bhadrabāhu and an ancient temple called Chandragupta-Basti, because it was erected by Chandragupta. The facade of the temple contains 90 sculptured scenes illustrating the events of the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta³.

From an examination of the evidences discussed above it reasonably follows that it was Chandragupta Maurya and not Bindusāra who conquered the South. This is further strengthened by a passage of Plutarch which states that "Androcottas [Chandragupta] overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000"⁴. Of course, this and the traditional and epigraphic records discussed above do not provide a direct evidence of Chandragupta's conquests of the South. But they are the only evidence veiled and indirect as they are, available for this historic event

¹ R. K. Mookerji, Sir William Meyer Lectures 1940-41.

² *Ib.* p. 65.

³ *Ib.* p. 66.

⁴ *Lives*, Ch. LXII.

and may be accepted in view of the historical back-ground, and in the absence of any positive evidence against it. The historical back-ground is this: Chandragupta ascended the throne, as we have seen in 322 B. C. and the war he fought and won against the Greek King, Seleukus Nikator, was in 305 B. C. How did he occupy himself this long interval between 322 and 305 B. C. There is no doubt that he was an imperialist and expansionist. In the political condition of India in those days, especially after a great dynastic revolution, and the consequent upheaval of the political statusquo, to stand still was to invite disaster and downfall, for a newly established imperial power. Naturally, therefore, Chandragupta Maurya would look forward to expand and consolidate his power beyond the Vindhya. He had both the strength and inclination for it. Therefore, it seems more than probable that the Greek record that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000; a Tamil reference to the Mauryan war in the South;¹ the Jaina tradition and the epigraphic records of Chandragupta's long and intimate association with a portion of his southern territory—all these are based on fact, and in his wars and conquests must be included the war and conquest of the South.

There is just one other question to be examined. It may be that Chandragupta Maurya had not to conquer the South but found it a part of the empire he got as the successor of the Nandas. Dr. Raychaudhuri points out that 'the existence on the Godāvāri of a city called Nau-Nanda Dehra suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.'² We also know that the ancient Tamil literature mentions the Nandas and speaks of their fabulous wealth. In some Mysore inscriptions the Nanda rule is stated to have extended upto the province of Kuntala in the North of Mysore [Rice, Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions, p. 3]. All these may point to the conquest of the South as far as Mysore by the Nandas. But does it preclude the idea

¹ S. K. Aiyangar—Beginning of South Indian History pp. 69, 81, 103.

² PHAI, p. 156.

that, even if the first Nanda, a powerful sovereign, had conquered the South, it had not fallen off from the Magadha empire and that Chandragupta had to conquer it again? The Khāravēla Inscription speaks of the conquest of Kālīṅga by the Nanda King. Yet we know for certain that Kālīṅga had broken off from the Nanda rule and that Aśoka had to conquer it anew. Considering the unpopularity of the Nandas on account of their extortions it is more than probable that the Nanda sovereignty of the South was a short-lived one.

The ceded territories by the Greek king pushed the northern and north-western frontiers of Chandragupta's empire to the Hindukush and the borders of modern Persia respectively. In the South, it extended far beyond the Nerbādī and the Vindhya hills deep into the Peninsula as far South as Mysore (*supra*). Thus the whole of India except Kaśmīra and Kālīṅga and the whole of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistān were included in his vast empire.

According to a Jain traditional work¹ which has also been supported by two inscriptions of about 900 A.D.,² Chandragupta who was a Jaina abdicated his throne to go to the South. There he died about 298 B.C. after a reign of 24 years.

Chandragupta was a soldier, a statesman and an administrator of the highest rank. The details of his administration will be treated later under the head of Mauryan Organisation of state. As a soldier, he had given ample proof of his ability by defeating the Greek armies under Seleukus. His statesmanship is proved by his vision which he afterwards realised by uniting a vast number of warring states under one political system and giving India, for the first time, a real political unity. Although by the law of the land he was an autocratic head of the state, he was no tyrannical despot and never misused the vast power he exercised. Dr. Vincent Smith's

Extent of Chandragupta's Empire.

His death.

An Estimate of Chandragupta.

¹ I.A. 1892, 157.

² PHAL., p. 197.

remarks, inspired by Justin's records, that he was a stern despot, ruling his kingdom with 'untempered autocracy' and 'oppressing the people with servitude' are exaggerated and cannot be accepted as sober truth. Those remarks may refer to the severity of Chandragupta's criminal code and to certain high exactions. The unsettled conditions of the time, his constant wars and the establishment of an efficient system of Government needed, however, both severity and money.

But that he was no despot like Darius of Persia, that his policy was to consolidate the strength of Āryāvarta and not to create an autocracy after the Persian model, that the republican form of Government which obtained among many of the Aryan tribes was not suppressed nor the traditional rights of the village communities or their power of local self-government ignored in spite of establishing a highly organised bureaucratic Government, and that he behaved like a constitutional monarch bound by the common law of Āryāvarta, is eloquently testified to by the great historian Havell. That he had the good of his subjects at heart is evident from a highly efficient system of administration which effectively maintained internal peace, from his personal attendance to the details of business of state, his regularity to hold the court to administer justice in which work he sometimes 'sat all day, not suffering himself to be interrupted, even though the time arrived for attending to person,'¹ the attention he gave to hospitals, sanitation, famine and poor relief and countless other works of public benefit and public utility². His subjects found perfect liberty in law and religion. There is no mention of religious persecution of Chandragupta in the books of rival faiths. His marriage with a foreign princess was a daring innovation in Hindu society and is another convincing proof of the greatness and liberality of his mind.

BINDUSARA 298—273 B.C.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra in 298 B.C. Bindusāra's title Amitraghāta [Slayer of Foes] suggests that he was

¹ Megasthenes' *Indika*, Frag. XXVII.

² Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Shamasastri's translation p. 43.

not a pacific ruler. It is probable that he had to fight many battles to keep the vast empire he inherited intact.

He kept up friendly relations with the Greek powers of Asia. The King of Syria Antiochus I sent to his court an ambassador named Deimachus. The Ptolemy King of Egypt also sent an envoy Dionysius. Bindusāra is said to have asked Antiochus to send to his court sweet wine, figs and a sophist [Philosopher]. The Greek monarch of Syria sent him sweet wine and figs but not the philosopher with the message that the law of the land forbade purchase of a sophist.

The Province of Taxila revolted during Bindusāra's reign on account of the highhandedness and wicked rule of his officers. Bindusāra sent Aśoka to put down the rebellion and establish peace in which task he succeeded so well that he was appointed Viceroy of that place to rule over his north-western Provinces. From there he was later transferred to the viceroyalty of Ujjain.

ASOKA 273—236 B.C.

Aśoka was Viceroy of Ujjain when his father died. According to the Ceylonese traditions his coronation did not take place until four years after his father's death, and that during this interlude there had been a long and bitter fratricidal war of succession in which his elder brother and rival claimant Susīma was defeated and killed. The Buddhist records of Ceylon state that Aśoka massacred his ninety nine brothers to possess the throne, and spared only one, the youngest namely Tishya. This story is refuted by his inscription [RE. V.]¹ which speaks not only of one brother, but of *several* brothers, sisters and other relations living in the thirteenth year of his reign in Pāṭaliputra and in other towns of his

¹ According to Dr. Raychaudhuri the fifth RE. refers only to the female establishments of Aśoka's brothers; it proves nothing, regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese accounts. PHAI, p. 204.

empire. Although Aśoka's inscriptions primarily speak of the Dhamma and of his life and career after he became a Buddhist, yet it is possible to glean from them some other facts of his earlier life, both in his private and public career.

Aśoka had his *avarodhana* or close female apartments [Ib.] How many queens he had we do not know, but that he had at least two is clear from the Queen's Edict on the Allahabad pillar which speaks of his 'second Queen' *Kāru Vākī* and of her son 'Tivara.' From his epigraphic records we also gather that he had at least four sons, each of whom was in charge of four Viceroyalties of Takshaśilā [Taxila], Ujjeni, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali. The RE. VI clearly specifies how Aśoka spent his leisure hours when he had no business of state to dispose of. He spent the time in banqueting in the dining hall, or in the harem chatting in the inner chamber, or riding, or inspecting the studs, or walking in the pleasure gardens. Before he became a Buddhist and stopped animal slaughter and taking of animal food, he was very fond of the chase and of taking the peacock's flesh. That the people of the Middle Country to which Aśoka belonged preferred the pea-fowl is stated by Buddhaghosha in his commentary of the Samyutta Nikāya.¹ The RE. VIII suggests that he gave up *Vibhāra-yātrās* in which the pleasures of the chase were the principal diversion and replaced them by *Dhamma-yātrās*, i.e., tours for Dharma or holy pilgrimages. The RE. I. informs us that unlike previous kings Aśoka discouraged the kind of *Samājas* held by his predecessors. One mode of public entertainment held by kings of that time was the celebration of the Samāja. The Samāja was of two kinds. In one the people were treated to dainty dishes in which meat played the most important part. In the other, they were treated to dancing, music, wrestling and other performances. Aśoka condemned such Samājas and substituted them by arranging for exhibitions of heavenly scenes [RE. IV].

Eight years after his coronation Aśoka conquered Kalinga, The Kalinga War a country on the Bay of Bengal which lying
261 B.C. between the Vaitaraṇī and Languliya rivers

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar—Aśoka, p. 16.

was a sort of wedge in the eastern possessions of his empire from Bengal to the Krishnā and Godāvārī.

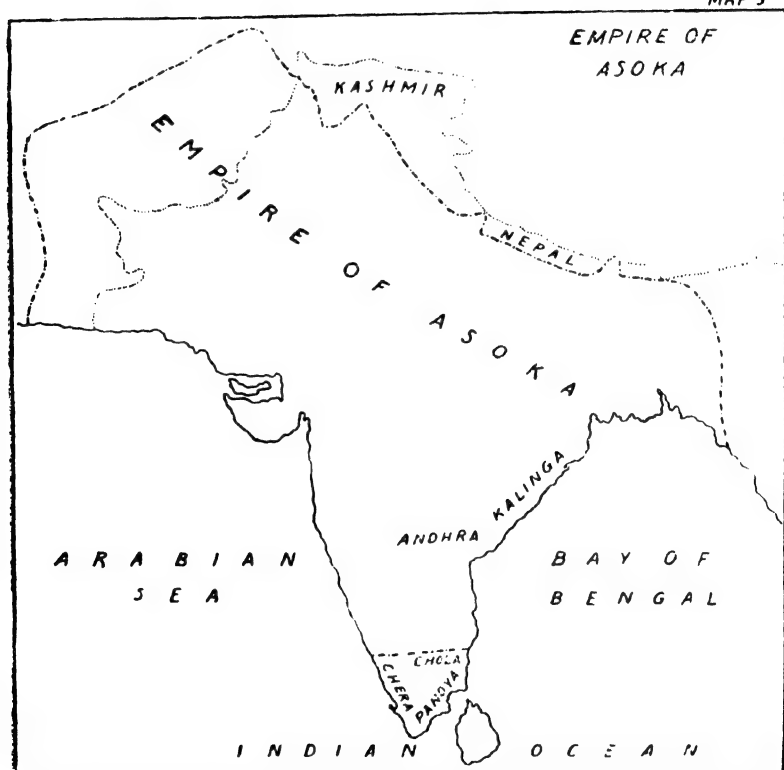
That was the only conquest Aśoka made after he became king. The horrors and the miseries of this war he vividly describes in his inscription [RE. XIII] which states that as many as 100,000 were slain and 150,000 were carried away as captives. Surely this appalling carnage made such a deep impression on his mind that from that moment he sheathed his sword and took up the Wheel of Law. The conquered country was constituted into a Viceroyalty under one of his sons stationed at Tosali, probably modern Dhauli, in Puri district. "The conquest of Kaliṅga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and perhaps of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dhammavijaya was about to begin."¹

Aśoka's records on rocks and pillars as well as the find spots of those inscriptions provide the internal and external evidence of the extent of his empire. One copy of his Fourteen Rock Edicts on the southern confines of his dominions namely ^{Epigraphic evidence of the extent of Asoka's Empire.} at Yerragudi in the Karnāl District of the Madras

Presidency and two sets of his Fourteen Rock Edicts found at Dhauli in Puri district and at Jaugaḍa in the Gaṅjām district indicate the extent of his south and south eastern dominions. The discovery in 1903 by Mr. Lewis Rice of three copies of Minor Rock Edicts in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore proves that northern Mysore was included in his southern dominions. That northern, north-eastern and north-western dominions included Nepal, Tehri-Garhwal, the Punjab, and the whole of the North-Western Frontier Province is proved by the discovery of his Pillar Edict at Lumbini and the Rock Edicts at Kalsi, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehrā. A copy of the Fourteen

¹ PHAI, pp. 207-8.

MAP 3



Rock Edicts found at Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwār, and another copy at Sopārā in the Thānā District about thirty miles north of Bombay indicate the western limit of his empire which touched the Arabian Sea.

Rock Edict XIII mentions the outline of the Frontier Provinces of his empire. They are the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Bhojas, Pitinikas, Andhras, Nābhas, Nābhapamtis, and Pārinidas. The territory inhabited by the Yonas or Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras refer to his north-west frontiers and is located by Dr. Bhandarkar between the Cophēn and the Indus rivers.¹ The Mahāvaiṃśa calls the chief city of the Yona territory Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria near Kābul.²

The territory of the Gandhāras included also the Irān-Indus region, the capital of which was Pushkalāvati, identified by Coomaraswamy with the site known as Bālā Hisār at the Junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers³. The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar and the Konkan and the Rāshṭrikas in Māhārāshṭra.⁴

The Bhojas according to Dr. Bhandarkar, lived in the Thānā and Kolābā districts of the Bombay Presidency.⁵ Pitinikas were probably the people living in Pratiṣṭhāna [Paithan] at the mouth of the Godāvarī. The Nābhapamtis of Nābhaka must be looked for, states Dr. Bhandarkar, somewhere between the north-west Frontier Province and the western coast⁶. But Dr. Bühler suggests that the Nābhaka of Aśoka's edict is Nābhikapura which according to the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa is in the Uttarakuru or some trans-Himālayan region. Dr. Bhandarkar seems to refute this identification.⁷

¹ Aśoka, p. 30.

² F.H.A.I., p. 208; Geiger's, Mahāvaiṃśa p. 194.

³ P.H.A.I., p. 208.

⁴ Ib. p. 213.

⁵ Aśoka, p. 35.

⁶ Ib. p. 33.

⁷ Ib.

The country of the Andhras and Andhradeśa is the region between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī Districts. With regard to 'Pāriṇdas' there is a controversy. Some scholars read it 'Palida' [Vide, Shahbazgarhi and Kalsī copies of R.E. XIV] and identify it with Pulinda mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [VII. 18]. Dr. Raychaudhuri, for instance, accepting this view, places Pulindas somewhere in the Vindhyan region and their capital not far from Bhilsā possibly identical with Rūpanāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict.¹ But Dr. Bhandarkar accepts the reading of the Girnar copy and reads the word as Pāriṇdas and by clever reasoning places them in the country occupied by the Bārendras, i.e., north and east parts of modern Bengal.

Kashmīr which is also a frontier province is not mentioned by name in his inscriptions. Perhaps it was conquered by Aśoka when he was Viceroy of Taxila and was included in that viceroyalty, for Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the only source hitherto known for this fact does not mention the name of Chandragupta, but clearly mentions that of Aśoka as a reigning monarch of Kashmīr². The Kalsī Rock inscription, the Lumbini Pillar Edict and the monuments of Lalitapātan provide epigraphic evidences of Aśoka's dominion in Kumaun and Nepal. Besides a number of vassal tribes in the extreme south, south-east as well as a number of Atavi or forest districts³ completed the picture of Aśoka's empire.

This big empire of Aśoka which surpassed in extent any other Indian empire that followed was parcelled out into four great viceroyalties, each under a Kumāra or a royal prince. The viceroyalty of Taxila ruled the northern region of his empire, that of Tosali, the southern. The viceroyalty of Ujjain ruled his western province and Pāṭaliputra which was also the imperial capital took care of the eastern region or the home province.

¹ PHAI, p. 212; also Corpus of Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 48.

² Rājatarāṅgiṇī, translated by R. S. Pandit, p. 20.

³ Probably of Mid India.

Rock Edict XIII gives us an idea of the relations that Aśoka had with the neighbouring foreign powers in and outside India.

There were four independent Tamil states in the Far-South with which Aśoka kept friendly relations and where his missionaries entered to preach the doctrines of Buddhism. These states were Chōḷa,¹ Pāṇḍya,² Satyaputra³ and Keralaputra.⁴ The foreign sovereigns mentioned in the edict are the Greek rulers of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Epirus with dates of the period of reign of each. Thus the edict supplies a valuable chronological evidence of the history of the reign of Aśoka who was a contemporary of those rulers. Like his predecessors, Aśoka maintained friendly relations with all of them. He sent Buddhist missionaries to these states and established many philanthropic institutions in their dominions. That the island kingdom of Ceylon and that of Suvarṇabhūmi [Burma] were also friendly to him is proved by the fact that he sent missionaries to both places. The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra. The names of the Buddhist missionaries sent to the independent states of India can be gathered from the Ceylonese Chronicles.

AŚOKA AND BUDDHISM

Aśoka is famous in history as a great Buddhist ruler and a patron of Buddhism. He devoted his time, energy and the resources of the state to the spread of Buddhism in and outside India. Buddhism laid stress on practical piety—good and moral actions and pure conduct. By precept and example, by administrative measures, moral edicts and through missionary activities financed by state, Aśoka succeeded in making Buddhism the most popular religion in India and spreading it abroad. He succeeded in inculcating the instructions in the Laws of Piety in his subjects and thereby elevating their moral and spiritual life.

¹ Trichinapalli and Tanjore districts.

² With Madura as capital.

³ Kāñchīpura.

⁴ Chera.

His life was one of dedication in the service of Buddhism. He gave up hunting and the taking of animal food. By a royal edict, he forbade the slaughter of animals for the royal kitchen [RE. I].

Personal Exam-
ples. Rock Edict VIII informs us that he stopped Vihāra-Yātras or pleasure trips for chase and other sports in which former kings frequently indulged and replaced them by Dhamma-Yātrās or religious tours. There are epigraphic evidences of his pilgrimages to Bodh-Gayā¹ in the tenth and Lumbini and Nigliya in the twentieth year of his reign.² Asoka remained a lay disciple for two years and a half and then probably joined the Monastic Order assuming the monastic garb and rule of life.³ Even though he did not abdicate, he carried the business of the state with the zeal and spirit of a Buddhist monk.

Aśoka gave the widest publicity to the ethics of Buddhism as far as it lay in his power under the conditions of the time. He

Royal Edicts on
Buddhism. engraved a series of edicts on rocks and pillars throughout his vast empire. The chief purpose of these edicts was instructions in the ethics of Buddhist religion, i.e., instructions on the mode of life according to the ethics of Buddhism. For instance, the Minor Rock Edict II lays stress on obedience to father and mother, respect for living creatures, truthful speech, reverence of the pupil to the preceptor. RE. XIII in addition to what is contained in RE. II lays stress on proper behaviour and steadfast devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions, relatives and to servants and slaves. Rock Edict VII lays stress on self-restraint, purity of heart and knowledge.

¹ R.E. VIII.

² Rummindei and Nigliya Pillar Inscriptions.

³ The two Minor Rock Edicts, the Brahmagiri Inscription and the Bhabru Inscription suggest the probability of his entering the Saṃgha as a full monk after two and a half years of his conversion. Long afterwards the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing saw a statue of Aśoka in the garb of a monk. But it is certain that he never abdicated his throne but carried on the business of State until his death even though he may have donned the monk's garment.

Aśoka's administrative measures in the cause of the Law of Piety or Dhamma were many. Respect for animal life was taught and enforced by several royal edicts. He first Administrative Measures for prohibited slaughter of animal life for the royal Dharma. kitchen, for Samājas or congregational dinners provided by the state [RE.I.]. By PE.V. he greatly restricted the slaughter of animals by the public. He made equally good healing arrangements for men and beasts. Medical herbs for both men and beasts, wherever lacking, were imported or planted [RE. II.]. He informs us that he planted banyan trees and mango groves for both shade and enjoyment for men and beasts [Ib.] PE. VII states : " Proclamation of Dhamma will I proclaim. Instructions on Dhamma will I instruct. Men harkening thereto will conform (to it), will be uplifted and will grow with the growth of Dhamma."

He not only practised charity on a large scale but encouraged the members of the royal household and the public to practise it according to established rules of Buddhist ethics. In fact the entire Monastic Order was maintained by state and public charity or *bhikṣhā* from which perhaps the monks derived their name of Bhikṣhu. Pillar Edict VII informs us that he employed a class of superior officers called Mukhyas for the distribution of charity both on his own account and that of queen and the princes. The Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Pillar refers to such charity of his second queen Karu Vākī whose gifts included mango-gardens, pleasure-groves, alms-houses and other things. The object of these charitable gifts 'mango-orchards,' well at convenient distances on high roads, 'watering-shades,' etc., were practical expressions of the spirit of Dhamma. Aśoka states in his Pillar Edict VII, "I have done this with this intent; namely, that they [mankind] may practise such practices of Dhamma."

As a corollary to his religious edicts was the appointment of Dhamma Mahāmātras. RE. V. informs us that Appointment of Dhamma Mahamatras in the thirteenth year of his consecration, he employed Dhamma Mahāmātras " for the establishment of Dhamma, promotion of Dhamma and for the welfare

and happiness of those devoted to Dhamma.” Dr. Vincent Smith renders the term Dhamma Mahāmātras as ‘Censors of Law of Piety.’ The name censor does not sound very happy and did not fit in with their functions which were not so much as spying and reporting breaches of moral or religious laws as Dr. Smith seems to suggest by his rendering, as teaching and guiding and otherwise helping men to practise the Law of Piety enjoined by the edicts. They were entirely a new set of officers employed by Aśoka for the first time for the promotion of Buddhism.

The Buddhist tradition, as recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicles, states that a Buddhist saṅgha was convened in the city of Pāṭaliputra under the presidency of the learned monk Moggaliputta

Tissa, eighteen years after Aśoka’s coronation and 236 years after the death of the Buddha. The authenticity of the council should not be rejected, as has been done by some scholars.

The General Council at Pataliputra and Edicts on Schism, c. 251 B.C.

In the Bhabru Edict, we find that he sent a message to the saṅgha of the Bhikshus in which he styles himself as Māgadha [King of Magadha] addressing the Bhikshus. Dr. Bhandarkar rightly suggests that because many of the assembled Bhikshus did not belong to his empire, it was thought necessary for Aśoka to introduce himself to them as king of Magadha.¹

The inscription contains: “The Priyadarśin of Magadha, having saluted the saṅgha, wishes them good health and comfortable movement.” Those words were undoubtedly greetings of welcome wishing health and bodily comforts during their stay as his guests. Then follow these lines “You know, Reverend Sirs, how great are my respect and kindness towards Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Whatever, Reverend Sirs, has been said by the Blessed Buddha—all that has been well said. But Reverend Sirs, if I may point out (anything) in order that Sublime Dhamma may thus endure long, I deem it proper to speak out. Reverend Sirs, these are the texts of Dhamma.” He names them and almost everyone of these has been identified to have belonged to the

¹ Aśoka, p. 102.

Buddhist Canonical texts, e.g. the Sutta-Piṭaka and Vinaya Piṭaka. Then he continues : *These texts of the Dhamma*, Reverend Sirs, *I desire the majority of Monks and Nuns to constantly listen to and meditate upon.*¹ The italicised words [italics are mine] suggest that there was a schism due to false teaching of certain monks and nuns and that he [Aśoka] was anxious that the sublime Dhamma may endure and that the monks and the nuns by majority should accept the true facts of the Dhamma.

Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edicts at Sārnāth, Kuśāmbī and Sāñchi contained orders to his Mahāmātras to punish schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha or Church and were probably issued after the deliberation of the Buddhist Saṅgha at Pāṭaliputra.

Asoka's activities for the dissemination of the Dhamma were not confined to the empire but were extended to independent states in India and to foreign countries. He sent Buddhist missionaries to the Tamil states of the South, Ceylon, Burma, the Greek kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the mission to Ceylon was headed by Mahendra and Saṃghamitrā. Mahendra was a son of Aśoka and Saṃghamitrā his daughter. The island king Tissa welcomed the mission which was crowned with complete success. But the same cannot be said about the mission to Suvarṇa Bhūmi [Lower Burma], for we know that the people there follow the Mahāyāna Buddhism patronised by Kanishka which is different from Aśoka's Buddhism, namely Hīnayāna.²

¹ Bhabru RE. [Bhandarkar's rendering]. On this edict Aśoka recommends to the monks and nuns of the saṅgha the following seven selected passages for the purpose : 1. Vinaya-samukasa Sutta. 2. Aliya Vamsasā, 3. Anāgata bhayas. 4. Muni-gāthā 5. Moneya Sutta, 6. Upatisa-pasin and 7. Rāhulavāda. All these passages except Nos. 1 and 6 have been satisfactorily identified to have belonged to the texts of the Tripiṭaka.

² For difference between the two schools, see supra, p. 59.

Although Aśoka was an ardent Buddhist and devoted himself sincerely to the propagation of the Buddhist faith, he showed wonderful toleration to all other religious sects.

His Toleration. In RE. XII. Aśoka declared that "he honours [men of] all sects, etc." He further states in the same that "there should not be honour to one's own sect or condemnation to another sect....On the contrary other's sects should be honoured on this and that occasion. By so doing, one promotes one's own sect and benefits another's sect." Wonderful words these, an object lesson for many a communalist fanatic of the present day India ! Another great emperor of India, Akbar, followed in the footsteps of Aśoka and brought the two great religious communities of India, Hindus and Muhammadans nearer each other and we had in those days none of the ugly communal or sectarian riots which now bring sorrow and shame to the fair name of India and the Indian nation. That Aśoka was sincere in his proclamations is proved by the fact that he constructed and dedicated for the use of an ascetic sect called Ajīvika several caves in the Barābar Hills near Gayā.¹ The Ajīvika sect was a Brahmanical Order.

AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions of Aśoka are an important and very reliable source of the history of his reign. Although these inscriptions were primarily meant to be ethical and religious, it is possible to gather from the facts of historical events of his reign in a satisfactory manner. In those days there was no printing press at the disposal of the Governments to issue the bulletins or orders as they are done now-a-days. Aśoka, therefore, inscribed his edicts or proclamations on rocks, stone-pillars or in caves. These inscriptions may, therefore, be principally divided into three classes :

- I. Rock Inscriptions.
- II. Pillar Inscriptions, and
- III. Cave Inscriptions.

¹ Parābar Hill Cave Inscriptions.

I. Rock Edicts.

Rock Edicts are fourteen in number and have been found in eight different places. These places are [1] Shāhbāzgarhī in the Peshāwar district, [2] Mansehrā in the Hazāra district [both in the North West Frontier Provinces], [3] Kalsī, a village in the Dehra Dun district, United Provinces, [4] Gīrnār Hill near the city of Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwār, [5] Dhauli, a village about seven miles south of Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri district, Orissa. In this edict, the place is mentioned as Tosali, the seat of the southern Viceroyalty. [6] Jaugaḍa about eighteen miles north west of the town of Gañjam; [7] Yerraguḍi, about eight miles north west from Gooti in the Karnal district in the Madras Presidency, [8] Sopārā in the Thana district to the north of Bombay, where only a fragment of Edict VIII has been found.

Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII are omitted on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rocks. In their places are two separate edicts proclaiming the principles on which the administration of the newly conquered province and its border tribes should be conducted. These two edicts are known as Kaliūga Edicts, for both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were in the newly conquered province of Kaliūga. They also contain instructions to the Viceroys of Ujjain and Taxila to apply in their respective administrative areas the principles of the edicts.

Minor rock inscriptions of Aśoka have been found in [1] Rūpanāth, an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Jubbulpore district, C. P., fourteen miles west of Sleemabad railway station on the line from Jubbulpore to Katni; [2] Sahasram, in the Shahabad District, Bihar, a railway station on the Grand Chord Line, E. I. R. The edict is found in an artificial cave in the Chandan Pir Hill about two miles to the east of the town. [3] Bairāt in Jaipur State, Rājputanā; [4] Maski, a village in the Raichur district of the Nizam's dominions, about forty-six miles south-west of Raichur. The Maski inscription has an importance of its own, as it is the only record that actually names Aśoka as its

author. It starts with the word *Devanampiyasa Asokasa*, instead of *Devānampiya Piyadasin* or simply *Devanampiya* as in the rest of his edicts. Three southern versions of the above edicts with a supplementary edict added to each have been discovered by Mr. Lewis Rice in 1892 in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State. The find-spots which are close to one another are [5] Siddhapura, [6] Brahmagiri and [7] Jatinga-Rāmeśvara.

II Pillar Edicts.

The proclamation of Aśoka commonly known as Seven Pillar Edicts have been inscribed on six Pillars, all in Northern India. [1] The most well-known of these is the Delhi-Toprā Pillar. It was in Toprā a village in the district of Khizrabad which was about 180 miles from Delhi. King Fīroz Shah of Delhi brought it to Delhi. This pillar contains all the seven edicts, the rest bear only six. [2] The Delhi-Meerut Pillar was originally in Meerut and was removed to Delhi by the same Sultan. [3] The third one is now in Allahabad. It was originally in Kauśāmbī and was brought to Allahabad by Akbar¹. This Allahabad-Kosam pillar contains also two minor edicts of Aśoka, the Kauśāmbī Edict and the Queen's Edict. Also Samudra Gupta and Jahnagir used this pillar for their own inscriptions. The third and the fourth edicts of Aśoka have been hopelessly destroyed by the inscription of Jahangir, [4] The Lauriya Ararāja Pillar and [5] Lauriya- Nandangarh Pillar and [6] the Rampurwā Pillar are close to one another in the Champaran District of Bihar.

The proclamations of Aśoka commonly known as Minor Pillar Edicts are found on the [1] the Allahabad Pillar and on the pillars set up at Sāñchī [Bhopal State], Sārnāth [Banaras] and Rummindei and Niglīva [Nepal Tarai]. Of the edicts of these series, [1] the Queen's Edict is found only on the Allahabad Pillar, [2] the

edict on Schism is found on Allahabad, Sāñchī and Sāranāth Pillars. [3] The inscriptions on Rummindei and Niglivā Pillars are commemorative and votive edicts.

III Cave Inscriptions.

There are four caves on the Barābar hill, about nineteen miles [by road] north of Gaya. On the walls of the three of these caves are found the inscriptions of Aśoka informing us that he dedicated these caves to the Ājivikas.

The language used in these inscriptions is Prākṛit and the script Brāhmī. Only in two inscriptions, *i.e.*, at Mānsehrā, and Shāhbāzgarhī the script is Kharoshthī, a name given by Bühler to those North-western cursive characters running from the right to the left as in Urdu, Persian and other Semitic languages.

Language and
Script

After an eventful reign of forty-one years, the Great Aśoka died in 232 B.C. and with him ended the greatness of Mauryan rule. His successors were weaklings and could not maintain the great empire which fell to encroachments from within and without, an account of which will be given in the next chapter.

INDIAN SOCIETY IN AŚOKA'S TIME

A picture of the society in Aśoka's time we get from his inscriptions and from Greek and indigenous literatures of the fourth to second century B.C. Castes existed then as now, but it was in a more or less fluid state allowing inter-caste marriages which was known as *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages. When a male of a higher caste, say Brāhman, married a female of a lower caste, say a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, the marriage was called *anuloma*, and when a male of a lower caste married a female of a higher caste, it was *pratiloma* marriage. There were different sects and religious communities who followed Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jaina faiths. There were ascetic sects, *e.g.*, Sādhus, Śramaṇas and Ājivikas. Aśoka followed a tolerant policy honouring all sects and religions and bestowing his charities to all. People of different sects and communities lived in peace, unity and amity.

In the daily life of the people, we find the public side of it sufficiently gay. The people were frugal in their diet and sober, except on occasion of festivals. The chief display of luxury was in dress. Megasthenes speaks of the fine and costly clothes and jewels which the upper and the richer classes put on [Megasth. XXVII, 8—9]. There were inns, hosteleries, eating houses, serais and gaming-houses where numerous sects and crafts had their meeting places and the latter their public dinners [Arth. p. 56].¹ The business of entertainment provided a livelihood for various classes of dancers, singers and actors [Hopkins, JAOS, XIII, pp. 79—80, 82—5]. Even the villages were visited by them, and the village commonhall was used for their shows [Arth. p. 48]. Penalties were imposed for refusal to assist in organising public entertainments. The king provided in amphitheatres constructed for the occasion dramatic, boxing and other contests of men and animals. Asoka discouraged contests of men and animals and introduced instead spectacles of heavenly scenes which would provide both entertainment and moral instructions [RE. IV].

In domestic life the joint-family system prevailed, but it could be dissolved. Boys and girls attained their majority at the age of sixteen and of twelve respectively [Arth. p. 154]. There were four regular and four irregular forms of marriage which was dissoluble by mutual consent or *exparte* [by the wife] on certain conditions such as prolonged absence of the husband without making provisions for the wife, his physical and mental defects, etc. [Arth. p. 59; *Manu* IX 76]. Unchastity of the wife gave the husband the right to forsake her. Upon the failure of male issue the husband could after a certain period take other wives of any caste, but he was required to render justice to all. A widow was at liberty to marry again, but she was to wait at least one year if she had a child [Arth. p. 158]. The wife had her dowry and ornaments, and her bride-gifts, which were her private property and at her disposal. Offences against women of all kinds were severely punished, including the actions of officials in charge of workshops

Family life : Position of Women

¹ The text used is Shamaśāstri's Revised Edition of 1919.

and prisons. The offence of killing a woman was equal to that of killing a Brāhman [Arth. p. 146].

Agriculture was the main industry. State made ample provisions for irrigation and marketing of the produce. Trade was active, various and minutely regulated. There were trader and merchant guilds which were called Śrenis [Arth. p. 378]. The previous wares comprised many species of gold, silver, spices and cosmetics from all parts of India; jewels including pearls from Southern India, Ceylon and beyond the sea; skins from Central Asia and China; muslin, cotton and silk from China and Further India [e.g., Indonesia, Indo-China, etc.] The best horses came, as now, from the Indus countries and beyond. The merchant had to pay certain duties at the frontiers, and road cess and octroi at the gates of the cities where the royal officials maintained a watch-house [Arth. p. 140]. Sale of the country produce was in the first instance by auction. Any combination to effect prices was punishable [Ib.]. As an aid to internal trade and traffic high-roads [rājapathas] and by roads [baṇikapathas] or merchant-roads were constructed and maintained. Canals and river-routes were also used for cargo and passenger boats. Hospitals for men and beasts were maintained; pharmaceutical works for the manufacture of medicines were established, for which medicinal plants in the state Botanical gardens and those imported from outside were available [RE. II].

Schools and higher educational institutions were maintained by state and public charities. Taxila and Pañchāla [U. P.] were great centres of higher education. The former corresponded to a modern Teaching University imparting instructions in all subjects of arts and science including military science and medicine. The Pañchāla Academy [Parishat] specialised in the teaching of higher philosophy. Writing was in common use not only for literary purposes, but also in public business. The inscriptions of Aśoka show that the scripts, now called Brāhmī and Kharoshthī, were well practised and have been in use for a long time. These two scripts have been the precursors of the Sanskrit and Persian scripts used in the Indian vernaculars. The language of the edicts was Māgadhi

Prākṛit with local variants, so that common people could read and understand it. This shows that literacy was fairly well spread and was not confined to the Brāhmins only. Epistolatory correspondence was frequently usual and written documents were kept.

II. THE MAURYAN ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

I. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

During the time of Chandragupta and Aśoka, the organisation of the state attained a high degree of perfection.

The nature of the Government was enlightened despotism. We have nothing in the contemporary records about any local Machinery of self-governing institution. The whole power Government. was centralised at Pāṭaliputara in the hands of the King who, having the good and the welfare of his people at heart, ruled them from day to day, looking after the minutest details of administration. It was almost a sort of paternal government, everything being found for the people by the king. The king was the head of justice and law and of the army. His decrees were laws and he was the highest court of appeal in the empire. But law and justice both followed the well-established custom of the land and the injunctions of the Śāstras. In the stupendous task of administration of this vast empire, the king was aided by a body of councillors [Mantri Parishad] at Pāṭaliputra and a highly organised bureaucracy working in different administrative centres of the empire. The frame-work of the administrative machinery was made by Chandragupta and was perfected by Aśoka with slight modifications.

The kingdom was divided into several Provinces. Provincial Governors were of two classes. The provinces which were of great political importance and which, therefore, required loyal and tactful administrators, were assigned to Kumara Viceroys and Governor. the princes of the royal blood designated as Kumāras. They were Kumāra-Mahāmātras. Four such Kumāra-Mahāmātras are mentioned in Aśoka's edicts. One Kumāra-Viceroy was stationed at Taxila [Takshāṣilā], the

headquarters of his North-West Frontier Province; a second Kumāra was Viceroy of the Province with its capital at Ujjain, a third Kumāra-Viceroy was stationed at Tosali, the headquarters of his newly conquered province of Kalinga, and the fourth Kumāra-Viceroy ruled the southern province from its headquarters at Suvarnagiri.¹

Besides these Kumāra-Mahāmātras or Viceroys, there were provincial Governors or Mahāmātras as can be gathered from Aśoka's Rock and pillar Edicts proclaiming his order to them. The Kauśāmbī Edict, for instance, was an order to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī to punish in certain manner those who were guilty of schism. We do not get any names of these Mahāmātras from any of Aśoka's inscriptions except in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. That epigraphic record tells us that the Province of Surāshṭra [Kāthiāwār] was governed by Vaiśya Pushyagupta in Chandragupta's time and by the Yavana Tushāspa when Aśoka was king. The appointment of a Yavana as a Governor of a Province was similar to that of Rājā Man Singh, chief of Ambar, appointed by Akbar to govern the province of Bengal. These two Emperors of India have left behind them pleasant memories of a truly liberal spirit of administration.

Besides the Viceroys and the Governors, there were three other classes of officials mentioned in the Arthaśāstra and in Aśoka's Edicts. The chief officials according to the former were Mantrin [Chief minister], Purohita [Chief priest], Senāpati [Commander-in-chief], Yuvarāja [Crown-prince]. These form the highest of the 18 *Tirthas* forming the inner-council

Other important Officials or the Cabinet of the king who consulted them always. The other 14 chief officials or *Tirthas*, mentioned in the Arthaśāstra are Dauvārika [Chamberlain], Antarveśika [Chief of the harem], Prasāstri [Inspector-General of Prisons], Samāhartā [Collector-General], Sannidhātā [Treasury-chief], Pradeshṭri [Divisional

¹ Capital of the southern-most viceroyalty, included the Isila District, touching the frontiers of the independent Choḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms.

Commissioner], Nāyka [City Constable], Paura [Governor of the Capital], Vyavahārika [Chief Judge], Karmāntika [Chief of the Mines], Mantri-parisatadhyaksha [President of the Council], Daṇḍapāla [Police Chief], Dvāra Pāla [Chief of the Home Defence], Antapāla [Chief of the Frontier Defence]. Below them were a large number of second grade officials known as Adhyakshas or superintendents mentioned both by Kauṭilya and Megasthenes. They were in charge of such subjects as those of Kośa [Treasury] Ākara [Mines], Suvarṇa [Gold], Koṣṭhāgāra [Store-house], Paṇya [Royal Trade], Kupya [Forest-Produce], Ayūdhāgāra [Armoury], Māna [Measurement], Mudrā [Passports], Pattana [Ports], Gaṇikā [Courtesan], Saṁsthā [Trade], Devatā [Religious Institutions] and those of the four branches of the army. In the RE. III of Aśoka we find some new names of officials not found in the Arthaśāstra, e.g., Prādeśikas, Rājukas, and Yuktas. The Prādeśika, according to Dr. Thomas, 'was an officer charged with the duties of revenue collection and Police.' Next to him and possibly attached to him was Rājuka, an officer, performing a double function of the modern Revenue and Judicial officer, and the Yuktas were 'district treasury officers who managed the king's property, received and kept accounts of revenue and had power to spend where expenses were likely to lead to an increase of revenue.'¹ Another officer mentioned in the separate Kālīṅga Edict I is Nagala-Viyohālaka [Nagara-Vyavahāraka], the same as Paura-Vyavahāraka of the Arthaśāstra whose duty was to administer justice in district towns. There was another class of officers called Anta-Mahāmātras. They have been taken to mean 'Wardens of the Marches' or high officers of the Frontier Provinces by some scholars. Aśoka mentions them in his Pillar Edict I and evidently, distinguishes them from the rest of his 'Purushas,' or Officers whether of high, low or middle rank, perhaps because of special responsibility attached to their office. Important Mauryan officials appear to have been invested with judicial powers to enforce the royal edicts.

Another new class of officers created by Aśoka were Dharma-

¹ Aśoka p. 58.

Mahāmātras. They did not exist in the time of Chandragupta. They have been translated by Dr. Vincent Smith as *Censors*. But

the word should better remain untranslated.

Dharma Mahāmātras Their duties were comprehensive and have been clearly explained in the Rock Edict V:

‘Now for a long time past,’ runs the inscription, ‘there were no Dharma Mahāmātras. Dharma Mahāmātras were created by me when I had been consecrated thirteen years. They are employed among all sects and also for the establishment of Dharma, proclamation of Dharma and for the welfare and happiness of those devoted to Dharma’ [R.E. V]. Being engaged among all classes of people among the Brāhmins and Gṛihapatis, among the helpless and the aged, or among those who are encumbered with progeny or subjected to oppression, or among those who leaning on Dhamma are given up to alms-giving these Dhamma Mahāmātras were enjoined to render suitable help as particular cases demanded. [Ib.]

The king maintained a close personal supervision over the administration of his officials—far and near. It was, therefore, necessary that he should adequately keep himself informed of the working of his bureaucratic machinery. For Secret Service this purpose, he maintained an adequate secret service which included spies, detectives, news-agents stationed at the headquarters of provincial administration and also trained carrier-pigeons.

Chandragupta maintained a large standing army which was well-equipped and regularly paid. Of course, the king was at the head of the army, but the control and administration of the army was entrusted to a board of thirty members who

The Army constituted into a regular War Office divided into six departments, namely, [1] Admiralty [2] Transport, Commissariat and army service; [3] Infantry; [4] Cavalry; [5] War chariots and [6] Elephants. The strength of the army in four different branches of forces were 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and 8,000 chariots. The Greek writers testify to the fine morale and efficiency of Chandragupta’s army which made it possible for him to ‘overrun

and subdue all India and also to defeat the invasions of Seleukus.'

The capital city, Pāṭaliputra [Modern Patna] was situated on the junction of the Ganges and Sōn rivers. It was a very large city, being about 9 miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. The city was defended by a massive timber palisade which had sixty-four gates and was crowned by five hundred and seventy-four towers. All round the walls of the city ran a road and a deep moat, filled with the water of the Sōn.

Chandragupta devised an excellent municipal administration of the city which evoked the admiration of foreigners. It is

The Municipal Administration of the City not known whether the Municipal Commission was an elected body or its members were appointed by the Government, perhaps the latter; but the scheme of the administration and the functions of the board were very similar to a modern Municipal Board, allowing for the difference of actual problem and condition obtaining in those times. There were thirty members constituting the Municipal Commission for the administration of the city and were divided into six Boards or Committees of five each. Each board had separate functions allotted to it. For instance, the first Board looked after the industrial arts of the city; the second Board attended to the foreigners, resident in the city; the third Board was incharge of the registration of births and deaths; the fourth Board regulated trade and commerce; the fifth Board supervised manufacture and sale of articles; and the sixth Board collected the tithes on the prices of the goods-sold. Apart from these functions which the Boards separately discharged, the commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning the public welfare, such as the repairs of public works, the maintenance of markets, harbours and temples and the regulation of prices etc. There is no doubt that this system of Municipal administration prevailed in other cities of the empire also.

We gather from Kauṭilya that besides his cabinet or the inner council the king had an Advisory Board of Councillors—Mantri-Parished of which Kauṭilya himself was probably the chief. The

provincial Governors also seem to have had advisory Boards called Parishads which deliberated on all affairs of the state and helped the former to discharge their duties. It seems that the constitution of these boards represented a further application of the principles which lay at the back of the Boards described above. It is clear from the Rock Edict VI.

Parishads that the Parishad had great deal of freedom of discussion and could differ even from the wishes of the King. RE. VI say "If in the council [of Mahāmātras] a dispute arises or an amendment is moved in connection with any donation or proclamation which I myself am ordering verbally or [in connection with] an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere [and] at any time."

The king was, of course, the head of justice, but he alone could hardly have disposed of the whole litigation even in the capital. From Megasthenes we gather that Administration of Justice. Chandragupta had Judicial officers who decided cases according to law. Megasthenes testifies to the severity of the Mauryan Criminal Code and that crimes were extremely rare. Aśoka tempered justice with kindness. In the Kālīṅga Edict, we find that he enjoined on the Mahāmātras who were the city judiciaries to be devoted to the eternal rule of conduct and to avoid causeless imprisonment and causeless harassment of the towns people.' In the PE. IV he records the order that a respite of three days was to be granted to persons condemned to death, so that his relatives might use the interval to petition for mercy to the local authorities or the convicts to prepare spiritually for death by 'giving alms or observing fasts.' And in order that his edicts on judicial fairness and impartiality were acted upon by his judicial officers' he employed special class of officers, a sort of inspectors of courts to conduct quinquennial or in some provinces every three years tour. 'I shall cause a Mahāmātra to go forth on tour every five years who will be neither harsh nor fiery [but] gentle in action so that being aware of this object [the city judiciaries] will act according to my instruction. But from Ujjain, the royal

princes will send forth this class of officers and will not overstep three years. When these go forth on tour, without neglecting their own function, they will mind this also, namely whether [the city] judiciaries are acting to the instructions of the king.”¹

Taxes were levied both in cash and in kind and were collected by the local officers. The Land Tax formed then, as now, the chief source of revenue. The rate at which the land tax was claimed by the Government was 1/4 of the produce of the soil.

Revenues of the State. Another important source of income was taxes on sale. The law was that in fortified towns, all

articles for sale [except grain, cattle and some others] had to be brought to the toll-house near the gate, marked with an official stamp and taxed *ad valorem* after being sold. The rates varied according to the value of the articles. Articles manufactured in the town and those brought from outside came under this tax. This was something like the excise duties on local manufactures and octroi duties levied in towns by its municipality. Another source of income was excise on liquor. A regular system of excise license was in force. Foreign liquor could be sold on a special license. Besides, water rates, royalties on mines and fisheries revenues from Crown lands and forests, fines, taxes on professions [Corresponding to the modern license fees for learned professions], tolls in ferries and bridges provided other sources of the state revenue. Aśoka evidently kept up the revenue system of his grandfather intact. The only information we gather from one of his inscriptions² is that he reduced the land revenue of the village of Lumbini to 1/8 in memory of Buddha's birth in that village. This only shows that the rate of land revenue even in the time of Aśoka was above 1/8 and probably double the reduced amount for Lumbini.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Both from Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra, we gather that the people in the time of Chandragupta were divided into several

¹ Separate Kāliṅga Edict I.

² Rummindei Pillar Inscription.

castes and that the caste rules were fairly rigid and exclusive.

Caste and Occu- Megasthenes, however, makes a confusion between castes and classes of men engaged in different occupations. For instance, he finds people divided into seven professional classes such as [1] Philosophers, [2] Husbandmen, [3] Neat-herds, [4] Artisans, [5] Fighting men, [6] Overseers and [7] Councillors and calls them 'caste.' This is evidently the result of a mistaken perception of the significance of Indian caste system. The Mauryan State being almost a paternal one, all kinds of occupations were helped, supervised and controlled by the Government. Rigidity of castes greatly slackened in the time of Aśoka when Buddhism was the dominant religion in the country.

Megasthenes speaks with admiration of the high moral tone of the society. Slavery, a universal custom in the Graeco-

High Morals of Society Roman world was unknown.¹ People lived frugal and happy lives. Wine was never drunk except at sacrifices when a kind of juice called *Somaras* was consumed. The chief article of food was rice-pottage; Polygamy was unknown to the common people and was confined only to the royal and the richer classes, but women enjoyed great liberty. They studied philosophy and could take the monastic vows.

Simple tone of Society The seclusion of the female sex was only introduced in Muhammadan times. *Sati* was not a common practice and rarely took place. The people enjoyed a great and well-

Honesty founded reputation for probity. Of their honesty, Megasthenes, like Yuan Chwang, who wrote many centuries later, speaks in an enthusiastic manner. When he visited the camp of Chandragupta, he found that in the whole of his army encamped there, the thefts reported amounted to the value of less than

¹ Probably it existed but escaped the notice of Megasthenes. The condition of slavery in India, however, was far better than in Greece and Rome which explains the Greek writer's ignorance of Indian slavery.

200 *drachmae*.¹ They left their home unguarded, made no written contracts or written laws. They seldom went to law. People were acquainted with reading and writing and used paper woven from flex. That literacy prevailed among the common people can be inferred from the existence of Aśoka's edicts.

Megasthenes gives an interesting and intelligent account of the religion of the country. The principal religious sects were the Brāhmanas and the Śramaṇas who were Buddhists and Jains.

Besides these, there were the Yogis, hermits and ascetics. Religion Megasthenes notes the similarity between the speculations of the Brāhmanas and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato. He speaks of their belief that the world is spherical, liable to destruction and permeated by the presence of the Deity. They also believed in the existence of a fifth element—*Ākāśa* or ether. Megasthenes found a pleasure characteristic with the Greeks in identifying the gods which Indians worshipped with the Greek gods : Śiva is "Hera-kles"; Indra is "Zeus Ombrios," etc. In the time of Aśoka, Buddhism became the most popular religion, under the patronage of that great Emperor who, however, treated all religions with equal respect.

From Megasthenes we learn that the people were happy and prosperous. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition due to an extensive system of irrigation by the state. People were skilled in arts, dress, and jewellery. "They love finery and ornaments. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they also wear flowered garments made of the finest muslin," says Megasthenes. The sculptures at Sāñchī amply prove that Megasthenes was correct in his description. The dress of men and women ordinarily consisted of two pieces of cloth, one round the loin, another the body and a head dress of richer stuff. Ornaments of different shapes artistically fashioned added to the costume of both sexes.

¹ The "drachma" is worth a franc, *i.e.*, a little less than a rupee.

The jeweller's art attained a high degree of excellence. The Mauryan age is specially famous for the high degree of perfection it attained in the art of stone-work. The highly polished magnificent monolithic pillars on which Aśoka inscribed his edicts testify to the skill of stone-workers and perfection of their tools. Again, the carrying of these pillars to long distances for the purpose of erection was a feat of engineering skill of transportation which evokes our wonder and admiration even at this age of science. The capitals of the Aśokan pillars are beautiful relics of the Mauryan Art. The beauty, proportions and attentions to minor details evinced in the capitals, specially the Lion Capitals, testify to the exquisite skill in sculptural art attained in the Mauryan Age.

We gather plenty of information for the all-round activities of the paternal Mauryan State from Megasthenes. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra which in addition to supplementing the records of Megasthenes gives many new information. The department of public works in the Government of Mauryan State. Chandragupta was well organised and its scopes and functions clearly defined. The area of its activity was quite extensive and included among other things 'the working of mines, the opening of irrigation works, the establishment of factories, the maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, of highways and commerce, waterways, land routes and other facilities for communication; the establishment of markets and the stores; the construction of embankments, drains and bridges; the planting of fruit and flower trees, of medical plants and herbs; the state protection of the disabled, the helpless and the infirm and also of the lower animals.'¹ Thus the Mauryan State fulfilled the functions which a modern socialist state would do.

Megasthenes records that 'soil has also under-ground numerous

¹ Studies in Ancient Indian Polity based on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra by N. N. Law, pp. 2-3.

veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains gold and silver and iron in no small quantity and even tin and metals

Mining which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as implements and accoutrements of war' [Book I, Fragment I.] From this passage we gather that there was extensive mining operation in those days but find nothing as to how it was worked. The Arthaśāstra, however, throws more light on the subject. According to it, there were two classes of mines, viz., [1] Ocean mines, and [2] Land mines. The duty of the superintendent of ocean mines was to look after the collection of diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, corals, conch-shells and salt. The duty of the superintendent of the land mines was to protect and discover new mines on plains and mountain slopes. He had to examine and find from slags, ashes and other such indications whether a mine had been or not. This department was manned by several other experts. Mining labourers were equipped with the necessary scientific apparatus. The government either directly worked a mine or leased it to private persons.¹

There was an elaborate system of irrigation in the time of Chandragupta. Megasthenes says: 'The greater part of the soil is under irrigation and consequently bears

Irrigation two crops in the course of the year, [Bk. I; Frag. I]. In another place he records: 'Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out by the main canals into other branches, so that everyone has an equal supply of it' [Bk. III; Frag. XXXIV]. Certain details of the Mauryan irrigation system are given in the Arthaśāstra which we do not find in Megasthenes. For instance, in a passage of the Arthaśāstra, we find that there were four kinds of irrigation, e.g., [1] irrigation by hand, [2] irrigation by water carried on shoulders, [3] irrigation by some mechanical contrivance and [4] irrigation by water raised from tanks, rivers. The rates charged by Government

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 3-4.

from agriculturists were one-fifth, one-fourth and one-third of the produce respectively.¹

The only epigraphic record of this branch of economic activity of the Mauryas is the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman which says that "Pushyagupta formed the Lake Sudarśana by damming a stream between a citadel and a rock. It was completed by Tushāspa. Junāgaḍh lay in the province of Saurāshṭra and Pushyagupta was its Governor in the time of Chandragupta and Tushāspa in the time of Aśoka."²

We gather from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that in Chandragupta's Government there was a special department of live-stock whose duties were to make provision for its pastures and grazing grounds, registration of cattle, to fix the scale and standard of diet, to make rules regarding milking, to prevent the cruel treatment of animals and to make adequate provisions for treatment of sick animals. Horses and elephants received the same care as cattle. There was special provision for the training of horses and elephants.³

Like all kings of ancient India the Mauryas were great hunters. Megasthenes describes the grand scale on which the royal hunting was organised in the time of Chandragupta [Meg. Bk. II, Frag. XXXII]. We gather from Aśoka's RE. VIII that it was a practice with the kings to go out on hunting excursions in which he also indulged up to the tenth year of his coronation when he abolished it. From Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, we learn that Chandragupta maintained certain forests which were reserved and the animals whereof were exempted from capture, molestation and slaughter. Violation of forest-rules were punished with fines. [Arth. Bk. II, p. 22]. Besides the royal hunting forests, there were other forests where the public could hunt but certain animals were given special protection from slaughter, such as birds, deer and

¹ Ib., pp. 11-12.

² Ep. Ind., VIII. pp. 42ff.

³ Studies in Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 46, 62, Cf. Meg., Bk. III, Frag. XXXV.

fishes in certain seasons, sea-elephants, horse, ox or ass, some birds that were regarded as sacred. For the safety of the protected animals in the state forests, all necessary precautions were taken [PE. V.]

Both Megasthenes and Kauṭilya testify to the fact that the Mauryan rulers were great builders of roads and canals. The four quarters of the vast Mauryan Empire were connected with a network of roads and water routes radiating from Pāṭaliputra. The number of routes in each direction seems to have been determined by consideration of traffic and trade importance. For instance, Kauṭilya regards the routes leading to the South were more important than those leading to the Himālayas; for while the latter brought to market the supply of blankets, skin and horses, the former facilitated the supply of such valuable commodities as diamonds, pearls, gold and conch-shells of which South India was the noted home for ages. Again, of the southern routes, the more important ones were those that passed by large number of mines. The trunk route connecting Pāṭaliputra with the Indus Valley was called by Megasthenes 'Royal Road' which the Arthaśāstra designated as 'Rāja-mārga' or the king's highway and makes it 4 danda or 32 feet wide [Arthaśāstra, Bk. VII]. Roads in the city were classified according as they were used by beasts of burden, Pedestrians or conveyances; and roads in the country were classified according to the destinations they led to. There were rules for the driving of vehicles to ensure the security of passers-by. Special care was taken for repairing the roads and favour was shown to labourers by exempting them from taxes. The evidences of the Arthaśāstra are confirmed by the epigraphic records of Aśoka from which we gather that the supply of water and shade was one of the concerns of the Government. Trees were planted, wells were dug and rest-houses, provided for travellers' comforts [PE. VII]. That waterways were highly developed and much used for traffic and trade is evident from the Arthaśāstra. There were several classes of water-routes, river-routes, canals, routes for coastal traffic carrying on inter-portal communications and ocean-routes carrying on

commerce and communications with foreign countries across the sea. Consequently means of transport were highly developed and in the Arthaśāstra, we find the names of several kinds of ships and boats, *e.g.*, ocean-going vessels, merchantmen, big vessels used in large rivers and seas, etc. Connecting the roads across rivers were innumerable bridges and ferries maintained by the State.¹

Both from Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra, we learn that the Mauryan State had a permanent department for taking annual census. Megasthenes says : "The third body of superintendents consist of those who enquire when
 Census and how births and deaths occur, with a view not only of levying a tax but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government." [Meg. Bk. III, Frag. XXXII]. The village officers and the census department, according to Kauṭilya, were to record the number of inhabitants of all four castes in each village [which was evidently the unit for census-taking in rural areas]; to count the cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, slaves, the young and the old men of each house and to ascertain their character, occupation, income and expenditure [Arth. Bk. II. p. 142]. The census in the towns and in the cities was taken by the town officers called Nāgaraka. A record of immigration and emigration of foreigners and men of suspicious character was also kept. Economically the importance of the census with its minute details as to the kind of lands occupied, occupation of the people, their income and expenditure etc. was very great indeed as a valuable aid to the taxation and a reliable index to the material condition of the people.²

Modern Governments are awake to the needs of regulating rates of interests charged by private money-lenders, and having

¹ S.A.I.P. pp. 68-87.

² *Ib.* pp. 170-79. also cf. P.E. III, notes Mookerji's Aśoka, p. 136 n. 1 and Bhandarkar's Aśoka p. 302 n. 7.

insurance laws to control Insurance Companies to protect the public from loss. But the Mauryan Government had done this more than two thousand years ago. Exploitation of the poor and the needy by the grinding money-lenders was checked by the State which determined by law a fair rate of interest. All deviations from it were punished. The legal rate of interest for a money-lender, as mentioned in the Arthasāstra, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month, *i.e.*, 15 per cent per year. Considering the prosperity of the peasants and artisans—a picture of society that is drawn unanimously by all contemporary writers—the rate does not seem high, although it is high in the present state of Indian society. Yet we find in India to-day that the poor and the ignorant people do actually pay to private money-lenders interests at an exorbitant rate which goes as high as 75 per cent, before the nose of an enlightened modern Government.¹ There were also laws which determined interests on secured and unsecured debts. There were laws which exempted certain persons from payment of interest, such as [1] persons engaged in long continued sacrifices, probably in view of the general good believed to have been produced thereby; [2] the diseased; [3] those detained in the house of their preceptor for studies; [4] minors; [5] the indigent. The rates of dividend of a commercial concern were also regulated by the State. The interest on the capital contributed by the member of a commercial company shall not exceed one half of the profit and payable at the end of the year. In case of partners who by long absence or by maladies are disabled from participation in the business, they may be discharged from business, by being paid twice the amount of their original capital.²

The Mauryan State had both preventive and relief measures to protect people against famine, flood and fire. As a general precautionary measure against famine, it was laid down that

¹ Only recently Debt Legislations have been passed by some Provincial Governments to keep the rates of interests on debts low.

² S.A.I.B. pp. 170-79.

in the Government Store-house only half of the garnered articles should be used and other half reserved. In the time of famine, the State would provide the cultivators with seeds, start relief works and recommend other measures. One of these was temporary emigration with his subjects to distant places with abundant crops [Arth. Bk. IV]. Tradition has it that when Magadha was in the grip of a terrible famine, Chandragupta, accompanied by a large number of his subjects, actually migrated to the South where he finally died. As a precautionary measure against floods during the rainy season, the people were made to remove from the banks of the rivers, *etc.*, in due time. Those who possessed or could procure canoes and other means of safety and escape were enjoined to give every possible help to others in need. Provisions were also made by Government to kill rats, locusts, injurious insects and other pests to save crops from destruction. The state laid down precautionary measures to protect life and property against fire. The measures consisted of *ten remedial instruments* [Daśamūlisamgraha], such as, a number of water-pots, a water-vessel, a ladder, an axe to cut beams, a hook to pull down the burning pieces of wood and ropes *etc.*, which every house-holder, whether resident in a village or city, must always keep in rows in big roads and at the crossings of roads and in front of royal buildings at state expenses.¹ These precautionary measures against fire were necessary as most of the houses including Government buildings were made of wood, a fact that is testified to by Megasthenes [Meg. BK. II, Frag. XXVII].

The Mauryan State took good care to secure the health of the people. From Megasthenes we learn that even foreigners were looked after very carefully when they were sick and buried when they were dead [Meg. Bk. III, Frag. XXIV]. From the Arthaśāstra, we learn of the adequate provisions made by the State for medical treatment of the citizens. "There were hospitals with store-rooms containing medicines

¹ Ib., 37-103.

in such large quantities as could not be exhausted by years of use.” There are references in the *Arthaśāstra* of ordinary physicians, surgeons with surgical instruments and appliances and materials for bandages, nurses and midwives and physicians, specially expert in detecting poison [Arth. Bk., I pp. 41—43; Bk. II, p. 146]. It will interest the modern readers to know that there was also arrangement in the Mauryan State for post-mortem examination. For this purpose the corpse was smeared with oil to prevent putrefaction. All cases of violent death caused, for instance, by suffocation, hanging or by poisoning were at once brought to the morgue and examined by the medical officers-in-charge [Arth. Bk. IV]. The State took care of the plantation and the growth of the medical herbs which were cultivated in both Government-owned fields or grown in pots. [Arth. Bk. II, p. 117]. The epigraphic records of Aśoka corroborated this fact. In RE. II we find that “Whenever medicinal herbs, wholesome for men and wholesome for animals, are not found, they have everywhere been caused to be imported and planted.” As preventive measures to safeguard the health of the people, the state laid down stringent laws for punishing adulteration of grains, oils, alkalies, salts, scents and medicines [Arth. Bk. IV]. The health of the people in cities and crowded places was secured by sanitary measures. Throwing dirt or causing mire or water to collect in roads and highways was punishable. Committing nuisance near temples, royal buildings and places of pilgrimage or in reservoirs of water was penalised. Throwing inside the city the carcasses of animals or human corpses was also visited with fines. Carrying dead bodies through gates or along paths not meant for the purpose, as well as the interring or cremation of dead bodies beyond the limits of the prescribed burial places and crematories was also a violation of the Sanitary regulations.”¹ Thus we find that everything that a Health Department of a modern Government does was done by the Mauryan Government more than two thousand years ago.

¹ Ib. pp. 94-95.

AŚOKA'S SUCCESSORS

Aśoka died about 236 B.C.¹ That he had more than one wife and several sons we learn from Aśoka's own words. In the Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Pillar Aśoka speaks of his 'second queen' Kāruvāki and her son Tivara. In PE. VII he tells us that he had many sons and grandsons² and more than one queen. That he had at least four sons is clear from the epigraphic records which tell that each of the viceroyalties of Takshaśilā, Ujjayinī, Suvar-nagiri and Tosali were in charge of a royal prince.³

Although Aśoka is silent about the names of his other queens and sons except the ones mentioned above, literature, both Buddhist and Brāhmanical, gives the names of three of his sons. They are Mahendra, Kuṇāla and Jalauka. Mahendra, the son of Aśoka's *Sethi* wife of Vidiśā, never sat on the throne, having joined the Order as a monk. Kuṇāla who was Viceroy of Ujjayinī was blinded by the conspiracy of his step-mother and was passed over according to the Jaina and Buddhist writers in favour of his son Samprati. The *Rājataranginī* tells us that Jalauka, a son of Aśoka, succeeded his father as an independent king of Kaśmīra. Tārānātha mentions Virasena as one who succeeded Aśoka as a ruler of Gandhāra. It is not clear in what relationship he stood with Aśoka. Dr. Thomas [*Ind. Ant.* 1875 and *CHI. i.*, p. 512] suggests that he was probably the predecessor of Subhāgasena, a contemporary of Antiochos I mentioned by Polibius.

There is a great deal of confusion in traditional accounts as to who succeeded Aśoka on the throne of Magadha. Even the Purāṇic lists are contradictory. The only unanimity in them is with regard to the name of the last Maurya king—Brihadratha. According to the *Divyāvadāna Sampadī* [Samprati], the son of Kuṇāla, succeeded Aśoka. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Aśoka was succeeded by his son Kuṇāla who reigned for eight years. Kuṇāla's son was Bandhupālita and Bandhupālita's successor was

¹ This is on the assumption that the reign lasted 36 or 37 years as the Purāṇas and the Pāli books affirm. *C.H. II.* p. 503.

² Putāpapotika.

³ Kalinga Rock Edict, I, II and M. RE. [Brahmagiri.]

Indrapālita and after him came Devavarman, Satadhanus, and Brihadratha. The Matsya list mentions the following successors of Aśoka : Dasaratha, Samprati, Satadhanvan, and Brihadratha. The Vishṇu-Purāṇa, however, makes Daśaratha a grandson of Aśoka. Daśaratha is the only person among the successors of Aśoka who appears in an inscription as the donor of a cave in the Barābar Hill near Gayā. It is thus clear that Samprati who appears in most Purāṇic lists and Buddhist and Jaina books, and Daśaratha who appears both in literature and inscriptions have a definite historical basis. According to most scholars Samprati came after Daśaratha and they are not simultaneous rulers of Western and Eastern India respectively, as Dr. V. Smith held.¹

The successors of Samprati up to the last of their line, Brihadratha, were mere non-entities and we hear very little of them except their names. Brihadratha was killed by his *senāpati* Pushyamiṭra Śunga who founded a new dynasty on the imperial throne of Magadha in 184 B.C.

¹ EHI, 4th. ed., p. 203.

CHAPTER VII

I THE ŚUNGA, KAṆVA AND ANDHRA RULE

200 B.C.-300 A.D.

Aśoka was evidently the last great Emperor of the Maurya dynasty and with his death [C. 236 B.C.] passed away the greatness and glamour of the Mauryas. From the epigraphic records of Aśoka

The Later Mauryas and their Decline we find the name of one of his sons, Tivara, son of Queen Kāruvākī. Names of other sons Kuṇāla, Jalauka and Mahendra are mentioned

in literature and from the same source, we get the names of two of his grandsons, Daśaratha and Samprati. The order of succession given in the Purāṇas is contradictory. In all, five or six kings intervened between Aśoka and Brīhadratha, about whom different Purāṇas agree as being the last of the line and supplanted by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Śunga about 184 B.C. But Pushyamitra sat on the throne of Madadha of a greatly diminished territory. The great empire of Aśoka had already broken

Causes of the Downfall of Mauryan Empire up into many independent states during the days of his weak successor. The question arises : why should the Mauryan Empire which was ruled by such an efficient system of bureaucracy have so soon broken up ? The causes were many : Firstly, the personal factor in an autocratic Government counts much and when the head of the Government was weak or inefficient, the Governors of the outlying and distant provinces asserted their independence. Sometimes the distant Governors were themselves weak or oppressive, but the strength of the Central Government kept them peaceful and safe. Many of these provinces rebelled and declared their independence when the Central Government at Pāṭaliputra became weak under incompetent rulers and could no longer suppress rebellions. Secondly, the military power of the Mauryas greatly declined for lack of fighting. After the Kalinga war, Aśoka gave up the policy of aggressive militarism which

would keep the army alert and engaged. Finding no scope for exercise under the pacific policy of Aśoka, the Mauryan army lost their martial spirit and efficiency. So when rebellions and foreign invasions made their appearance after Aśoka's death, the Mauryan army proved unequal to the task and disintegration set in. Thirdly, a strong Brāhmaṇic reaction arose against the Mauryan rule, which though tolerant in other respects, was against sacrifices which, however, formed an essential part of Brāhmaṇism. Pushyamitra who was a Brāhman and held a high command in the Mauryan army in the time of Brīhadratha was the head of this reaction. He drove his weak master from the throne and put an end to the Mauryan rule in Magadha.

THE ŚUNGA RULE

C. 184-73 B.C.

Pushyamitra Śunga, as we have seen, with a view to restore the neglected Brāhmaṇic religion and save the country, her liberty and time-honoured culture from the outlandish practices of the Yavana invaders ascended the throne of Magadha by a bold *coup d'état* and established a new imperial dynasty, but made amends by the energy he displayed in saving the crumbling empire of Magadha from utter annihilation. The remnant of the old empire restored to order by Pushyamitra included Magadha and certain neighbouring provinces, extending in the south as far as the Nerbada. The cities of Ajodhya [U.P.], Vidiśā, and Barhut [C.I.] were included in the dominions of Pushyamitra. We learn from Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that the Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra was viceroy of Vidisā, ruling the southern provinces. While in that position, Agnimitra successfully fought against the newly established kingdom of Vidarbha [Berar] and not only humbled its power but wrested a considerable territory as far as the river Varadā.

Patañjali [a contemporary of Pushyamitra] illustrated the use of the imperfect tense denoting an event which has recently

happened thus : “ *Aruṇad Yavanah Sāketam, Aruṇad Yavanah Madhyamikām.*”¹ This proves the Bactrian

The Yavana
Invasions

Greek invasion of Chitor and Ajodhyā in the time of Pushyamitra. Probably there were two Yavana wars which Pushyamitra had to fight—one in the beginning of his reign, and the other at the close of his reign. The invasion of the Yavanas [Indo-Bactrians] referred to in the Gārgī Samhitā states that they after reducing Sāketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā reached Kusumadhvaia [Pāṭaliputra]. It is evident that the Yavana leader, whoever he is, was defeated beyond the walls of Pāṭaliputra or retired without fighting.² There is no evidence that Pushyamitra even lost his capital after his accession to the throne following the *coup d'etat*. The Yavana conflict referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra was evidently in the latter part of Pushyamitra's reign when his grandson Vasumitra was of sufficient age to lead the imperial force against the Yavanas. Further the battle was fought on the river Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, flowing South towards Central India from a point south-east of Mathurā. It may also be the Kāli Sindhu, a tributary of Charmaṇāvati [Chambel] which also flowed off the Yamunā at a point between Mathurā and the Sindhu and passed through Central India [See Map. 2]. An army coming from Mathurā to Central India would find the route along the [Jumna] and its tributaries mentioned above the most convenient highway. Therefore the Yavana conflict mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra having been fought on the bank of either the Sindhu or Kāli Sindhu cannot be the same as mentioned in the Gārgī-Samhitā which was fought under the walls of Pāṭaliputra and it is unthinkable that when Pushyamitra was in the height of his power, and his sacrificial horse was roaming to challenge the powers of India, Pāṭaliputra should have been attacked by the same Yavanas who were defeated by Vasumitra. Unfortunately none of the above references mentions the name of the Yavana

¹ Identified with Nagari near Chitor,

² Tarn rejects Jayaswal's translation "will reach Kusumadhvaia" and accepts Barnet's translation 'will win' G. B. I. p. 453-3.

leader. The Greek writers credit specially two Bactrian Greek rulers of India with many Indian conquests. They were Demetrios, and Menander, both belonging to the line of Euthydemos. Demetrios was a middle-aged man of about forty when Pushyamitra ascended the throne in 184 B.C. He was probably the leader of the Yavana invasion of Pātaliputra mentioned in the Gārgī-Saṁhitā and hinted at by Patanjali in his *Maḥābhāṣya*. From this Greek account we gather that when Demetrios was busy with his Indian conquests, troubles broke out in his homeland, Bactria which revolted under Eukratides. Perhaps, this prevented Demetrios from pressing home his attack on Pātaliputra necessitating his hurried departure to meet his rival. For the rest of his life which ended in c. 160 B.C. he was engaged in war with Eukratides.

The second Yavana conflict referred to in the *Mālivikāgni-mitra* was fought when Pushyamitra was evidently an old man, having a grandson of sufficient age to be entrusted with the command of the imperial forces and whose personal valour has been extolled in the drama. This Yavana war associated with the horse sacrifice of Pushyamitra must have been fought about the close of his reign which ended in c. 149 or 148 B.C., by which time Demetrios was dead. Therefore the Yavana forces defeated by Vasumitra must have been under some other leader than Demetrios. Our surmise is that he was Menander who has been bracketed by Greek writers with Demetrios as having conquered many countries of India. Strabo says that Menander conquered "more nations than Alexander." That he survived Demetrios and ruled the Central and South-Eastern Punjab as one of the princes representing the house of Euthydemos—Demetrios admits of no doubt. That he also held his sway as far east as Mathurā is proved by numismatic evidences. Further we know from Buddhist books that he became a convert to Buddhism, and his court Sākala [Sialkot] was a refuge of Buddhist monks. It is possible that he might have been inspired to restore the Dhamma in the Middle Country which was under the sway of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the leader of the Brāhmaṇic reaction, and led a crusading army against him. This also agrees with the expansionist policy of his pre-

decessors, Euthydemus and Demetrius towards the south-east. His advance from Mathurā which he already held to Central India probably coincided with the preparations of the horse-sacrifice mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The Yavana army of Menander from Mathurā to Central India naturally followed the high road along the Jamna some distance towards the south-east and then swerved off to the region along the bank of either Charmanāvati or the Sindhu which led into Central India. The river Sindhu mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* on whose bank the Yavana force was defeated in all probability indicates either the Sindhu or Kālisindhu, a branch of the Charmanāvati [Supra.] Dr. V. Smith assigns the invasion of Menander to the years between 156-153 B.C. and this date, coincides with the last few years of Pushyamitra's reign when the horse-sacrifice referred to in the drama [probably, the second and the last one¹] was performed.

War with Vidarbha.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* is our source of information about the war which Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra and viceroy of Vidiśā, fought against Vidarbha. We gather from the drama that the kingdom of Vidarbha in the Deccan was a newly established one [Achirādhishṭhita] and that therefore it was like a newly planted tree which had not yet taken firm roots [‘Nava Sam-ropana-Sithila-Staru]. Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha is represented in the drama as a relative of the late Maurya King Bṛihadratha whom Pushyamitra had removed by his military *coup d'état*. This shows that Yajñasena was perhaps a governor of Vidarbha in the time of Bṛihadratha and had declared independence of the Śuṅga rule, and showed open hostility to the Śuṅga viceroy of Vidiśā. His Cousin Mādhavasena was, however, a partisan of Agnimitra and was secretly coming to join him in Vidiśā when he was captured near the frontiers and kept in prison. Agnimitra's

¹ The Ajodhyā Inscription [Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54—58] states that Pushyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices : “द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य” etc.

demand to release him was met by a counter-demand by Yajñasena for the release of his brother-in-law, the Maurya minister, from prison. This led to the declaration of war by Agnimitra who sent Virasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and Mādhvasena was released. The kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two kingdoms [see Map. 2].

Horse Sacrifices.

According to the Ajodhyā Inscription [Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54-58] Pushymitra performed two horse-sacrifices. The horse sacrifice referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra, as we have seen, was performed at the close of his reign when his supremacy in Middle India was firmly established. We know from the Mahābhāshya that Patañjali officiated as a priest at least in one of the sacrifices. The passage in the Mahābhāshya : “Iha Pushyamitraṃ Yājayāmah” (here we perform the sacrifices for Pushymitra) proves it.¹

Now, if the Ajodhyā inscription is to be believed, when was the first horse-sacrifice performed? There is no doubt, as we have seen, that the horse-sacrifice referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra was performed when Pushyamitra was an old man and was probably the second and the last one performed by him before he died, and the occasion, was the king's ratification of his claim to suzerainty over his neighbours. When and on what occasion was the other horse-sacrifice performed? It is difficult to be definite on this point. But that it was, if at all, performed before the one in which the emperor's grandson Vasumitra was in charge of sacrificial horse is certain, and it will not be unreasonable to suppose that the first horse-sacrifice was performed soon after Pushyamitra's successful military *coup d'état*, and probably also after the relief of Pāṭaliputra from the first Yavana invasion [Supra, p. 160].

¹ According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the rule ‘यज्याम’ : has been cited by Patañjali as an illustration of the Vārtika teaching of the use of an action which has been begun but not finished [Ind. Ant. 1872, p. 300 ; Also Cf. PHAI, p. 159].

Pushyamitra was the head of the Brāhmaṇic rule which worked for the revival of the sacrificial rites and rituals so long suppressed by the regime of the Buddhist Maurya rulers. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that Pushyamitra should have celebrated his accession to the throne and the relief from the Yavana invasion which immediately followed it by the revival of the horse-sacrifice which his followers expected as the royal declaration of the end of the Buddhist heretic regime and the beginning of the Brāhmaṇic rule and the revival of Brāhmaṇism.

The traditional account such as the Divyāvadāna and the Tibetan historian Tārānātha show that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists and destroyed Buddhist monasteries. Some scholars reject the testimony provided by the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha and hold that Pushyamitra Śuṅga did not persecute the Buddhists. They cite as argument for their opinion¹ the Barhut inscription in which it is stated that the gateway of a Barhut stūpa was erected "during the time of the Śuṅgas" [Suganam raje].¹ If we carefully look into the historical back-ground which brought about the accession of Pushyamitra Śuṅga to the throne, of Magadha, we shall find that Pushyamitra Śuṅga was the head of the Brāhmaṇic Revolution which destroyed the rule of the Mauryas who had followed the pacific Buddhist policy of rule inaugurated by Aśoka. That the Brāhmins had genuine cause of grievances against that kind of rule has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Harprasad Śāstri in his admirable paper [JASB, 1910.]. Of course, Aśoka followed a tolerant policy in religion and was not a conscious persecutor of any sect but some of his edicts show that he introduced certain reforms for what he understood the welfare of his subjects [e.g., RE.I., RE.V., RE. IX, and PE. IV]. These reforms necessarily hit the interests and privileges which the Brāhmins had been enjoying from time immemorial. Further, about that time the Yavanas, and Śakas made their appearance in India with their outlandish customs and practices. Hindu religion and culture

¹ Dr. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 3rd Ed. p. 48 ; Dr. R. S. Tripathi H.A.I. p. 187.

was thus menaced from both within and without. The weak and pacific policy of the Buddhist Mauryan rule was not competent enough to protect the integrity of India and save its culture and religion from foreign invasion. The Brāhmanas who considered themselves as guardians of the country's religion and culture determined to take the political power into their hands. The *coup d'état* under the leadership of Pushyamitra Śūnga who was the commander-in-chief of Brīhadratha's army ended in complete success. Pushyamitra Śūnga, who was a Brāhman, thus brought into existence the first Brāhman rule in Magadha. In view of this historical background it is difficult to reject the testimony of the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha who testify to the persecution of the Buddhists by Pushyamitra. He had to justify his leadership of the Revolutionary Party which came into power by persecuting the Buddhists and reviving Brāhmaṇism. According to the Divyāvadāna Pushyamitra issued a declaration that whoever would present him with the head of a Sramaṇa would be rewarded with one hundred dināras.¹ The proclamation referred to the Śramaṇas of Śākala, which we all know, was the capital of the Indo-Bactrian Menander [Milinda.] According to the Milinda Pañha, Śākala was a resort of the Buddhist monks. That Pushyamitra performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices is borne out by an Ajodhya Inscription [pp. Ind. XX, pp. 54—58]. Pātanjali's Mahābhāṣya and the Mālavikāgnimitra also testify to his performance of horse-sacrifices. The feverish activities towards the revival of Brāhmaṇism by Pushyamitra ill fits with his tolerant policy towards Buddhism. Pushyamitra Śūnga could ill afford to do so even if he liked, and kept his reactionary allies attached to his rule. But passion must have quieted down and political conditions settled during the time of Pushyamitra's successors who felt less obliged to yield to the reactionary elements in the state and consequently pursued a less militant and more tolerant policy towards the Buddhists so as to allow them to decorate the Buddhist stūpas at Barhut by erecting gateways and railings, etc. That the gateways² were erected long

¹ “यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दोनारशतं दास्यामि ।”

² [Div., Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 433.].

after Pushyamitra Śuṅga is also the opinion of eminent archaeologists, like N. G. Majumdar. [A Guide to the Sculpture in the Indian Museum, p. 14] Therefore, the expression "Suganamraje" should more reasonably apply to the successors of Pushyamitra Śuṅga than to Pushyamitra himself. In view of this clear archaeological evidence and the historical background against it, the Barhut gateway inscription should not be used as an argument to reject the clear literary evidences of the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists.

The Purāṇas give a dynastic list of ten Śuṅga kings, give Pushyamitra Śuṅga a reign period of 36 years and the entire dynasty 112 years. Pushyamitra, as we have seen, ascended the throne about 184 B.C. the dynasty, therefore, came to an end about 72 B.C. The kings mentioned in the Purāṇic list in order of succession are

[1] Pushyamitra, [2] Agnimitra, [3] Vasujyestha, [4] Vasumitra, [5] Andhraka, [6] Pulindaka, [7] Ghosha, [8] Vajramitra, [9] Bhāga [Bhāgavata?] and [10] Devabhūti.

Of Agnimitra nothing is known beyond such information as may be gleaned from the Mālavikāgnimitra and the Purāṇas. The combined evidence of these two sources, enable us to say that he was his father's viceroy at Vidisā, that he fought and won a war with Vidarbha, that his son Vasumitra was the commander of the imperial army guarding the sacrificial horse and that after his father's death he succeeded him as suzerain for eight years. Several copper coins bearing the name of Agnimitra have been found in North Pañchāla [Rohilkhand]. In the absence of other positive evidences on the point it is difficult to say whether these coins bear the name of the Śuṅga king or that of a local prince ruling in Ahichhatra. Prof. Rapson is in doubt on this point [Cambridge Hist. Ind. Vol. I, p. 520]. Cunningham thinks he was a local prince [Coins of Ancient India, p. 79]. Dr. Raychaudhuri [PHAI, pp. 269—70] argues in favour of the coin name being that of Pushyamitra's successor Agnimitra. He similarly points out that the coin name Jethamitra is to be identified with Agnimitra's successor Vasujyestha No. 3 in the Purāṇic List, who appears only as Jyestha in one of the manus-

cripts [Ib.] The fourth king in the list is Vasumitra. He was the son of Agnimitra and in his youth guarded the sacrificial horse and defeated the Yavanas on the Sindhu which probably formed the boundary between the south-eastern limit of Yavana kingdom of Mathurā and the Śuṅga territory in Central India¹

The fifth king in the list who succeeded Vasumitra appears in the Mss. in different forms, e. g., Andhraka, Andhra or Odraka. Dr. Jayaswal identifies him with the Oḍaka [Skt. Odraka] of the Pabhosā [near Kauśāmbi] rock inscription [JBORS, Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5]. The identification has not been accepted by many scholars. Of the next three kings we know nothing more than their names given in the Purāṇas. They were in succession Pulindaka, Ghosha, and Vajramitra. The ninth king in the Purāṇic list, Bhāgavata, has been identified by some scholars with king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar Pillar Inscription from which we gather that the Greek king Antialkidas of Taxila sent to the king Bhāgbhadra's court his ambassador Heliodorus, son of Dion who calls himself a *Bhāgavata* [JRAS, 1909 pp. 1055-56]. The tenth and last king in the list is Devabhūti who after he had reigned for 10 years, was overthrown by his Amātya Vasudeva, the Kāṇvāyana, who founded a new dynasty. This account of the Purāṇas finds an echo in a passage of the Harshacharita which states that Vasudeva became ruler after having killed the over-libidinous Śuṅga by a successful conspiracy.²

THE ŚUṅGA CULTURE: RELIGION, ART AND LITERATURE

The Śuṅga rule was the result of a Brāhmanic revolt against the weak and Pacific Buddhist monarchy which had an adverse effect on the orthodox Brāhmanic faith on the one hand and encouraged foreign invasions on the other. Therefore the first task of the newly established government was to restore old Brāhmanic faith with its ceremonious

¹ See Supra p. 162; also Cf. PHAI, p. 270

² *Harsharita* VI, p. 199 (अतिस्त्रीसङ्करतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्ग-ममाल्यो वसुदेवो.....वीतजीवितमकारयत्) see also Pargiter, *Dynasties of the kali, Age*, p. 71.

rituals and sacrifices and the supremacy of the Brāhmanas in the hierarchy of caste. Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* was the Śuṅga kings' high-priest who officiated in the great sacrifice which Pushyamitra performed. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa gives a graphic description of a horse sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra. The Ajodhya Inscription describes Pushyamitra to have performed two horse-sacrifices. Dr. Bühler assigns the date of Manu, the author of the *Manusmṛiti*, somewhere between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The earlier limit of this period is more probable in view of the fact that the rehabilitation of the Hindu society on a strictly orthodox model establishing the hegemony of the Brāhmanas beyond all doubt was the demand of the new ruling class and that the first Hindu law book was codified in keeping of that need. It must, however, be remembered that the Laws enunciated by Manu do not reflect the actual state of religion and society in the Śuṅga times. The Besnagar Pillar inscription at the time of a later Śuṅga king clearly shows that even the Greeks could become Hindus and worshippers of the god Viṣṇu. The theories of the *Manusmṛiti* were set up as ideals which gradually hardened into realities with the progress of time with the result that today the orthodox Hindu society is regulated according to the Laws of Manu. The progressive elements in the Hindu society, however, think that the Manu's code has outlived its utility and advocate, through fresh legislations, its modification in many respects.

The Śuṅga period ushers a new age in the art of building. The wooden railings of the Buddhist stūpas of the Maurya and Pre-Maurya period were replaced in the Śuṅga period by stone railings and magnificent stone-gateways. The remains of the Barhut Stūpa [Central India] provide the example. The sculpture reliefs on the gate-ways as well as on the pillars and cross-bars of the railings give beautiful pictorial representations of nature and the Jātaka stories. Among other well-known examples of Śuṅga monuments and sculptures may be mentioned the famous vihāra at Bhājā near Poona, a group of rock-cut stūpas and a large excavated chaitya-hall near the old vihāra at Bhājā, a chaitya-hall at Nāsik, the chaitya-hall No. 9 at

Ajaṇṭā, a stūpa at Amarāvati, the beautiful railling at Bodha Gayā enclosing the *chaṅkrama* or promenade where the Buddha walked after the attainment of the Bodhi, the beautiful Vṛiksha Devatā at Barhut and the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar, lacking the capital.

With the revival of Brāhmaṇism, Brāhmaṇ Literature naturally flourished during the time of the Śuṅgas. The famous commentary on Paṇini's grammar, the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed by Pātañjali.

That Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra
 Literature and officiated as priest in the latter's horse-sacrifice
 is proved by the passage, '*Iha Pushyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*' [here we are sacrificing for Pushyamitra] which Patañjali cites as an example to illustrate the use of the present tense to denote an action which has begun but not finished. It is probable that the *Manusmṛiti* was compiled during this period. There must have been other literary celebrities, but their names have not been preserved.

THE KANVA DYNASTY C. 72-28 B.C

The founder of this new dynasty of Magadha was Vasudeva. Precious little is known about the details of the Kaṇva rule. It appears that the territory was confined to Magadha and its neighbourhood but as occupying the throne of Magadha, they have been mentioned in the Purāṇas as imperial dynastic rulers. The total length of the reign according to the Purāṇas, was 45 years. The Purāṇas mention the names of four Kaṇva kings who reigned in Magadha in succession. "Vasudeva will be king for 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign ten years." The Purāṇas call them Śuṅga-bhṛitya Kāṇvāyana kings and Brāhmaṇs by caste. The first Kaṇva king, as we have seen, served the last Śuṅga king as his minister.

THE ANDHRA OR SĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY

According to the Purāṇas the Andhra [king] Simuka or Śisuka or Sindhuka, as he is variously spelt, obtained the earth after destroying the power of Suśarman Kāṇvāyana and the remainder of the Śuṅga power.¹

¹ काण्वायनरततो भृत्यः सुरार्माणं प्रसङ्गतम् । शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा
 बलं तदा । सिन्धुको अनुजातीकोः प्राप्स्यतीमां बसुन्धराम् । Vāyu Purāṇa.

We have seen that the Kanvas reigned upto about [72-45] 27 or 28 B.C. Therefore, the rise of the Andhras as an imperial power dates from the last quarter of the first century B.C. Simuka who is stated to have reigned for 23 years, must have been on the throne of the Āndhra kingdom for some time before he wrested the imperial power from the Kanvas in c. 28 B.C. Therefore we can place the rise of the Andhra power under Simuka in their original homeland in the middle of the first century B.C.

The differences regarding the date of the rise of the Andhra power among the scholars are due to the confused and somewhat contradictory statements in the Purāṇas as to the length of the reign enjoyed by the Āndhras as also to the number of kings mentioned in the list of the Andhra dynasty. The Matsya Purāṇa states that nineteen Andhra kings will enjoy the earth [*Ekona-vimśatir-hyete Andhrā bhokshyantivai mahim*], but mentions thirty names. The Vāyu Purāṇa states that there will be thirty kings [*ityete vai nripās triṃśad Andhrā bhokshyanti ye mahim*], but mentions only nineteen names. Then, again regarding the duration of the total length of the reign the Matsya states that the Andhras ruled for 460 years [*teshām varśha satāni syus chatvāri shashtir eva cha*] while the Vāyu makes the duration of the Andhra rule 300 years [*Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām śate dvecha śatām cha vai*].

Perhaps on the testimony of the Matsya Purāṇa Dr. V. Smith and some other scholars place Simuka in the third century B. C. and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D. Dr. Raychaudhuri, however, finds a way out of these Purāṇic contradictions and arrives at a reasonable conclusion of the date of Simuka. He rightly thinks that according to the tradition preserved in the Vāyu there were 19 kings who ruled for 300 years, while according to another tradition there were 30 kings who ruled for 400 years, as the Matsya says. He quotes the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who holds that the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so-called Andhra-bhṛitya dynasty and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years and 19 names

given in the Vāyu Purāṇa and hinted at in the Matsya 'refer to the main branch.' Dr. Raychaudhuri points to the existence of at least one line of Śātakarṇis, distinct from the main branch, who ruled over Kuntala [the Kanarese districts] before the Kadambas. The Matsya list, he further points out, includes at least two kings of the line named Skandaśakti and Kuntala Śātakarṇi who are passed over in silence in Vāyu. Discussing other evidences on this point Dr. Raychaudhuri concludes that 'the *Matsya Purāṇa* which mentions 30 Sātavāhana kings includes not only the main branch but also the Kuntala line.....and if the main line of the Sātavāhana kings consisted of only about 19 princes and if the duration of these be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The Kuntala line lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth or fifth century A.D., when it was supplanted by the Kadambas.¹ Thus the total duration of the rule of both the branches of Śātakarṇi is really more than 400 years.'²

Additional evidences to what Dr. Raychaudhuri has pointed out, as shown just above, may be cited to bear on the date of Simuka. The Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā, the wife of Śātakarṇi I and daughter-in-law of Simuka is dated about 100 years anterior to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi [Bühler, A.S.W.I. Vol. V p. 65]. Now Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi reigned during the first quarter of the second century A.D.³ The reign periods of three or four kings including one of regency and a short period of foreign rule which intervened between the death of Simuka and the accession of Gautamīputra must have covered more than a century. Therefore Simuka, the father-in-law of Nāyanikā must have acquired the imperial position in the last quarter of the first

¹ In the fifth century A.D. the Vākāṭaka King Harishseṇa is, however, described as the Lord of Kuntala in his inscription [Vide, Arch. Surv. Ind. IV, p. 124 ff.]

² PHAI, 3rd. ed. pp. 275-279.

³ See *infra* p. 175. His reign period is c. 106-130 A.D.

century B.C., a date that also agrees with the Purāṇic account as shown by Dr. Raychaudhuri, cited above.

The evidence supplied by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela may also be used with profit to solve the problem of Simuka's date. A passage in the inscription runs thus :

Paṁchame cha dāni vase Nanda-rāja ti-vasa-sata [m] oghātitaṁ Tanasuliya-vātā-panāidṁ nagaraṁ pavesayati. Dr. Raychaudhuri rightly holds and gives convincing reasons that *tivasatataṁ* means 300 years and not 103 years from the time of Nandarāja. This makes Khāravela flourish in the last quarter of the first century B.C. Now in another passage of the inscription we find that Khāravela fought against Śātakarṇi, Lord of the West. This makes the two monarchs contemporary and consequently places Śātakarṇi's father, Simuka not much earlier than the last quarter of the first century B.C. as we have seen.

Curiously enough the Andhras call themselves Sātavāhanas in their epigraphs. They are also known as Śālivāhanas in literature. In two of their earliest epigraphs [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 93 ; Arch Surv. West Ind. V. p. 64] the first and second Andhra kings, Simuka [Śīśuka] and Krishṇa [Kanha] are described as belonging to the Sātavāhana race [Sādavāhana kula].

But the Purāṇas describe both Simuka and Krishṇa as Andhra kings. We also know that the Andhras were an ancient Dravidian people who occupied the Telugu country between the Krishṇā and the Godāvari¹. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions them as living beyond the pale of Aryan civilisation. But from one of the epigraphs of the Andhra-Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭhiputra

¹ One Buddhist Jātaka refers to a place called Andhrapura and locates it on the Telavāha river. Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests (I.A. 1918) that the Telavāha river is either the modern Tel or Telingini river, both flowing not far from each other, and on the common confines of Madras and the Central Provinces. He therefore thinks that the country of the early Andhras must have comprised Jaipur and part of Vizagapaṭam District of the Madras Presidency and some conterminous Districts of the Central Provinces. (Bhandarkar's Aśoka, p. 35).

Puṣumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.] we know that the Sātavāhans were Brāhmanas. The antiquity of the Andhras as a people is also testified to by Megasthenes who recorded, as Pliny says, that they maintained an army of 60,000 foot, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants and possessed a walled city. Aśoka also refers to them in his RE. XIII as within his territory. Now the question is that if the Andhras were an ancient Dravidian people and known to the Brāhmaṇa writers [c. 800 B.C.] as living beyond the pale of Aryan civilisation how can we accept the purāṇic account that Simuka, who, as we have seen, flourished in the 1st century B.C. was the founder of the Andhra Dynasty? How, again, to reconcile the claim to Brāhman descent of the Sātavāhana-kula [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.] with the fact that the ancient Andhras were a Dravidian people?

But these contradictions are more apparent than real. The Andhras were certainly an ancient Dravidian people as stated above and the Sātavāhanas were an Aryan people of Brāhman descent, completely different from the Andhras. The original home of the Sātavāhanas as their epigraphs show, was in Mahārāshtra [Northern Deccan] when they rose to imperial power under Simuka in the first century B.C.¹ Probably Śātakarṇi conquered Andhradeśa. Later, about the middle of the second century A.D., the Sātavāhanas conquered and probably colonised the Andhradeśa under Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāvi—after having subjugated the natives of the soil, the ancient Andhras. About this conquest we have plenty of epigraphic and numismatic evidences.² By the time the Purāṇas were composed, the Sātavāhanas may have lost their northern and western possessions, and got so much mixed with the people of the Andhradeśa whom they ruled and among whom they lived that the Purāṇa writers designated the rulers of the land also as Andhras and naturally named the first Sātavāhana king Simuka as the founder of the Andhra dynasty.

¹ Dr. Raychaudhuri states that Sātavāhanas originally lived in the territory immediately south of Madhyadeśa [PHAI, 4th, ed. p. 179]; MM. Mirashi thinks that they lived somewhere near Berar and later conquered Andhradeśa. [J.N.S.I., II, p. 94].

² Nanaghat Ins. of Nāyauka.

We have already stated that the Sātavāhanas were Brahman rulers like the Suṅgas and the Kaṇvas who preceded them.

The Nāsik Cave inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Brahman Rulers Puṣumāvi provides sufficient evidence to this fact. In it their famous King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has been described as a unique Brāhman [*ekabambhana*]¹ equal in prowess to Rāma [*Paraśurāma*] and destroyer of the pride and prestige of the Kshatriyas [*Khatiyadapa-māna-madana*].

EARLY SĀTAVĀHANA RULERS

The Purāṇas name the founder of the Andhra dynasty as Simuka or Śisuka. Both these names appear in the early Sātavāhana epigraphs. In the Nanāghāt-Cave-Figure-Label
Simuka Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi [Arch. Survey. West Ind. V., p. 64] Śimuka appears below the figure No. 1, the queen Nāyanikā and her husband Śātakarṇi jointly in label No. 2.

According to the Purāṇas the second king of the dynasty was Krishṇa who was a brother of Simuka. He is to be identified with the Kanha [Krishṇa] mentioned in the Nāsik
Krishna Cave inscription of the time of Krishna Senart, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 93] during whose reign a cave was constructed for the residence of the Śramaṇas of Nāsik.

The third king, according to the Purāṇas, was Śātakarṇi. He was the son of Simuka. He is to be identified with the Śātakarṇi of the Hāthigūphā inscription, the
Satakarṇi Nanāghāt Cave Figure-Label inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I and the Nanāghāt Cave inscription of Nāyanikā² and with Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscription on the gateway of the Sānchī Stūpa. Śātakarṇi appears as Śrī Śātakarṇi in the Sānchī Inscription. He appears on other inscriptions without the title of Śrī.

¹ See *infra* p. 177 f. The title was in suspense since the time of Śātakarṇi I. Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāyī, and not his father Gautamīputra, was called 'Lord of the Deccan' [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff].

² Arch. Surv. West Ind. V. p. 64 pp. 60 f. and 86 f. respectively.

Sir John Marshall's objection to the last identification was due to the fact that he believed that the Śātakarṇi of the Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāt inscriptions belonged to the second century B.C. and, therefore, this Śātakarṇi could not have any control of Eastern Mālwā which was included in the territory of the early Śuṅgas. We have seen that both these inscriptions belong to the last quarter of the first century B.C.¹ by which time the Śuṅgas had been replaced by the Kaṇvas and the Kaṇvas by the Andhras; whose sovereignty necessarily included the territories jointly ruled by the Śuṅgas. Dr. Raychaudhuri [PHAI, 3rd ed. p. 282]. suggests that the first Śātakarṇi styled himself simply as such was natural, while it was equally natural for the later Śātakarṇis distinguishing themselves by the addition of a metronymic like Gautamīputra and Vāsishīputra. The suggestion is illuminating. In the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā we get some details of his life. According to a restored portion of the inscription he was the son of Simuka a [*Simuka-Sātavāhanasa Vamśa Vadhanasa*].² He married a princess of the Aṅgiya family whose rulers bore the title of Mahārathī. He was the undisputed sovereign of the whole of the Deccan [*apratibata chakra dakṣiṇa patha pati*] and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices [*Aśvamedha yajña dvitīya iṣṭab*].³ From the Sāñchī inscription we infer that he conquered Eastern Mālwā. He was a contemporary of king Khāravela of Kāliṅga, and the latter's inscription at Hāthigumphā tells us, Khāravela defied his power and attacked the city of Musika. After Śātakarṇi's death his queen Nāyanikā acted as the regent of her minor sons Vedaśrī and Śaktīśrī.

The sovereignty of the early Sātavāhana rulers in their homeland Mahārāshṭra probably ended temporarily in the beginning of the second century A. D. as a Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta chief of one of the Śaka clans, dated 119 A.D. [See *infra* p. 209] indicates. The Kshaharātas ruled over Mahārāshṭra, the homeland of the Sātavāhanas who were

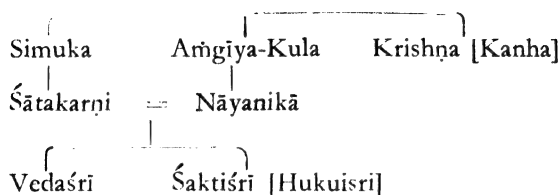
¹ *Supra*, p. 170; *infra*, Appendix II on the Chronology of Khāravela, p. 189 ff.

² Select Inscriptions, p. 187, note 2.

³ *Ib.* p. 189.

driven to the further South. We give below a genealogical table of the early Sātavāhana kings drawn from the epigraphs who reigned undisturbed for about a century in their original homeland.

Sātavāhana Kula



GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI

The set back suffered by the Sātavāhanas at the hands of the Kshahrātas appears to be short-lived, for the Nāsik Cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 73] dated C. 130 A.D.¹ proves his sovereignty over Mahārāshṭra. A Nāsik Cave inscription in the time of his son, Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.] definitely states that he [Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi] drove the Kshaharātas from their new settlements [*Kṣakharāta vasa niravasesa karasa*]. Further, a large number of coins from the Jogalthambhī [Nāsik] hoard containing silver coins of Nahapāna and his other pieces restruck by Gautamīputra leads to the same conclusion. We do not exactly know in what relation he stood with the first Śātakarṇi or his sons. But we know from the same epigraph that he was the most outstanding monarch of the Sātavāhana dynasty. He not only restored the fallen fortunes of his dynasty [*Śātavāhana-kula yasa patitbhāpana karasa*], but brought under his rule vast territories, the names of which as given in the epigraph,² roughly correspond to Gujrat, Saurāshṭra, Mālwa, Berar, North Konkan and the region round Poona and Nāsik. The Jogalthambhī [Nāsik] hoard which con-

¹ Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 193.

² Asika, Asaka, Mūlaka [all neighbouring districts between the Krishṇa and the Godāvari], Suratha, Kukura [a portion of Eastern Rajputana], Aparānta [western coast], Anupa [a district in the Upper Narbadā], Vidarbha [Berar], Ākarāvanti [Eastern and Western Mālwa].—Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.

tains the silver coins of Nahapāna shows that he restruck those of Nahapāna left there. He was a unique Brāhman [eka-bamhana] who could wield the weapon like Paraśurāma and Arjuna.

He reigned for at least twentyfour years [c. 106-130 A.D.].
 His reign period This reign period can be computed on the following data. The inscriptions of Andhra Sātavāhana rulers from the time of Gautamīputra and his immediate successors are dated in their regnal years and not in the year of any era. The determination of their chronology depends chiefly on the inscriptions of their contemporaries and rivals—the Western Kshatrapas who use the Śaka era beginning in the year 78 A.D. The last recorded date of Nahapāna is Śaka 46 = A.D. 124 [Junār Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna, Bühler, Arch. Surv. W. Ind. IV, p. 103]. This date has been naturally considered by scholars as the year of Gautamīputra's conquest of Mahārāshṭra and the last year of Nahapāna's reign there. Now from the Nāsik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 71] we gather that Gautamīputra's conquest of Mahārāshṭra was in the 18th year of his reign. Therefore his reign began in [124—18] 106 A.D. And since his last inscriptional date is regnal year 24 [*vide* his Nāsik Cave inscription, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 73], his reign period is fixed 106-130 A.D.

VĀSISHṬHĪPUTRA ŚRĪ PULUMĀVI

In the Nāsik Cave inscription of Balaśrī in the time of her grandson Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, 60 ff.] in the nineteenth year of his reign, she calls herself the grand mother of the present king and the mother of the late king. This fact undoubtedly establishes the relationship of Vāsishṭhīputra with his predecessor Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi whom he succeeded as his son and successor in c. 130 A.D. According to scholars he is identical with *Siro Polemaion* who, according to Ptolemy, had his capital at Paithan or Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī. He is styled as the king of Navanara [Navanara Svāmī Vāsishṭhīputra, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 65 ff.]. Navanora or Navanagara [New city] has been identified by Bhandarkar with Paithan. The Epigraph

[Ib.] calls Śrī Puṣumāvi, the Lord of the South [Dakṣiṇāpatha-śvara]. His inscriptions and coins prove that his dominions included the Krishṇā district. This undoubtedly, proves that the conquest of the Andhradeśa was accomplished by him. The Andhradeśa, we have seen, is not included in the list of territories ruled by Gautamīputra. That he had also retained his hold on Mahārāṣṭra is clear from his several Nāsik and the Carle Cave Inscriptions. The Carle Cave Inscription which is the last one ascribed to him, is dated in his regnal year 24 which is equivalent to A.D. 154 counted from the year of his accession in 130 A.D.¹ Thus he was a contemporary of the famous Śaka ruler of Ujjain, Rudradāman whose Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription is dated 150 A.D. This Junāgaḍha Inscription further tells us that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, Lord of the Deccan but did not destroy him on account of his near relationship Saṁbandhāviduratayā]. The nature of this close relationship is found in the Kanheri [Thana district] Buddhist Tank Inscription [Lüders, No. 994] in which Puṣumāvi is represented as the husband of the daughter of the Mahākṣhatrapa Rudra. Prof. Rapson identifies Rudra with Rudradāman I and Puṣumāvi with the Śātakarṇi, 'Lord of the Deccan of the Junāgaḍh Inscription. There is no doubt that Prof. Rapson is right. The name Śātakarṇi is patronymic, which has been worn by several Śātavāhana kings, perhaps in loving memory of Śrī Śātakarṇi, the first builder of the Śātavāhana Empire. Many other Śātavāhana kings have not used this patronymic appellation in their epigraphs. But that the Śātavāhana kings are called simple Śātakarṇis by foreign rulers is clear from the two inscriptions hitherto discovered. One is the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman, ruler of Saurāṣṭra and the other is the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, king of Kāliṅga, in which only, 'Śātakarṇi' appears to mean the two Śātavāhana kings of different periods. Further, it may be pointed, that Rudradāman calls the Śātakarṇi of his time as 'Lord of the Deccan' [Dakṣiṇā-patha-pati]. This should put a quietus to the doubt that he can be any other than Puṣumāvi who is a Śātavāhana ruler to conquer the Andhra

¹ Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 203.

country and described as the 'Lord of the Deccan' in the family epigraph [Daksihṇa patheśvara, Ep. Ind. VIII, 60 ff]. Andhra-deśa was not included in the dominions of his father Gautamī-putra.

YAJNAŚRĪ SĀTAKARṆĪ

The last great king of the Sātavāhana Dynasty was Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. His relationship with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi is not clear. His inscriptions have been found in Nāsik, Kanheri, and also in Chinna¹ which is in the Kistna district. His coins have been found in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, East Mālwa, Aparānta [Western coast of the Deccan], the Central Provinces and the Kistna district. This clearly proves that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra Country. He reigned for at least 27 years. His latest inscription, the one found in Chinna in the Kistna district is dated in the 27th year of his reign. Dr. V. Smith points out that his silver coins on the model of those of the Śaka rulers suggest that he conquered some lands from the Śakas. Some of his coins bear the figure of a ship with a fish and a conch. This proves that Yajñaśrī had developed a naval power and maritime commerce.

DECLINE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA POWER

Very little is known about Yajñaśrī's successors except their names. During their time the Sātavāhana power rapidly declined yielding place to new powers—the Ābhīras in Mahārāshṭra and the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas in the Western Deccan about the middle of the 3rd. century A.D.

THE CONDITION OF THE DECCAN DURING THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD²

In the foregoing pages has been stated the political history of the Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. The inscriptions which

¹ I am in debted to Dr. Nilkantha Sastri for suggesting that the place is known, as Chinna Ganjam.

² For further details see Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article in the Indian Antiquary, June 1919, pp. 77—83.

throw light on this history, also throw light on art, religion, social and economic condition of Mahārāshṭra during this period.

. Buddhism was in exceedingly flourishing condition and was tolerated by the Brāhman Sātavāhanas. The Buddhist religion served as a hand-maid to the art of building, especially cave temples and dwellings which were highly developed.

Religion : Bud-
dhism and the Art
of Cave-Building

Almost all the caves so far found in the Deccan are dedicated to Buddhism and were excavated during the Sātavāhana period. They were of two kinds—[1] *Chaitya-griha* or temples, and [2] *Layanas* or residential quarters for *Bhikshus*. The first are with vaulted roofs and horse-shoe shaped windows over the entrance, and have interiors consisting of a nāve and side aisles with a small stūpa, at the inner circular end. They are the improved models of their proto-types in the Barābar Caves [C. 300 B. C.] and they have been imitated later by the builders of Christian basilicas. The *layana* consists of a hall surrounded by a number of cells, each cell containing as a rule a stone-bench for a monk to sleep upon. Each layana cave had one or two rock cut cisterns attached to it. Different parts of all these caves, whether Chaitya-grihas or layanas were excavated by all sorts and conditions of men at their own expense, showing what hold Buddhism had over popular mind. They not only incurred the cost of building these caves or any parts thereof but made ample provisions for their repairs and for the maintenance of the Bhikshus who resided there. For repairs, villages were generally granted. For feeding the Bhikshus, pieces of land, sometimes villages, were given, some-times cash deposits in permanent endowments [*Akshaya nivṛ*] were made to the guilds to provide robes [*Chivara*] out of the annual interest of the endowment found. The Bhikshus occupied the caves during the rainy season only [Vassāvāsa]. For the remainder of the year they spent in religious tours just as the Jaina *Sādhus* do even now. It appears that certain caves were reserved for certain sects of the Buddhist monks. For example, Cave no. 2 at Nāsik was assigned to the Bhadrāyana Bhikshu Saṃgha by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's mother, Balaśrī [Ep. Ind. III, p. 60 ff.] The cave at Cārle built in the time of Vāsishṭhiputra

Puḷumāvi was given to the Mahāsaṃghikas [Ep. Ind. VIII p. 71.]

Brāhmaṇism—

Brāhmaṇism was also in a flourishing condition. Sātakarṇi I and his queen performed a number of sacrifices, the description of which has been partly preserved in the mutilated inscription of Nāyanikā at Nānāghāṭ [A. S. W. I. V., 60-1; Lüder's List no. 1112]. They seem to have celebrated no less than twenty sacrifices. *Aśvamedha* was twice performed. Among other sacrifices performed were *gavā myanam*, *Agnyādheya*, *Rājasīya*, *Āptoryāna*, *Angirasāmayanam*, *Śatātirātra*. The *dakṣhiṇā* or sacrificial fee consisted of villages, Kārshāpaṇas, ordinary and milch cows, elephants and horses, horse-chariots, silver-posts, silver ornaments, dresses and so on. The highest number of cows given is 11,000 and Kārshāpaṇas 24,000 [—about 686 Suvarṇas, 35 silver Kārshāpaṇas being equal to 1 Suvarṇa].¹ This was certainly Brāhmaṇism of a most vigorous type. The same epigraph begins with an adoration of Dhamma, Indra, Saṃkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, the sun and the moon and the four guardians of the quarters [Lokapālas]—Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava. The names Saṃkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva prove the early prevalence of the worship of Kṛishṇa and his family in the Deccan. The homage to Indra shows that the worship of the great Vedic god survived to the first century A.D. Who the God Dharma was is not clear. That he was not meant in the inscription as a lokapāla like Yama or Varuṇa is clear.²

Besides the sacrificial Brāhmaṇism which revived with a great flourish in Mahārāshṭra was the Brāhman rule of the Sātavāhanas, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism also flourished side by side. We have seen that the names Vāsudeva Saṃkarshaṇa prove the existence of the Vaishṇava cult. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that such names as Gopāla, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇupālita occurring in the epigraphs of the period provide further evidence for the deve-

¹ Ib. p. 81.

² Dhama is probably to be identified with Yama. The Lokapala idea is perhaps of later development.

lopment of Vaishṇavism. The worship of Śiva, he further points out, was far more prevalent in the Deccan during this period, if names can be taken as evidence, 'Such names as Bhūtapāla, Mahādevanaka, Śivadatta, Śivaghosha. Śivapālita, Śivabhūti, Śivadāta, Bhavagopa and so forth clearly show that this god was popularly worshipped under four names, viz., Śiva, Mahādeva, Bhava, and Bhūtapāla. That his vehicle, the bull was also adored may be seen from the names, Nandin, Rishavanāka and Rishavadāta. The names Skandapālita, Śivaskandila, and Śiva-Skandagupta show that the god Skanda was worshipped both separately and conjointly with Śiva. Such names as Nāga, Sarpa and Sarpila point to the prevalence of serpent-worship.'¹

A very interesting and important feature of the religious condition of this period is that we find many foreigners embracing either Buddhism or Brāhmaṇism. During this period many foreign tribes e.g., the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlawas and Abhīras had made settlements in India. Many epigraphs of the
 Foreigners embrace Hinduism period show that they not only embraced Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism but also adopted Hindu names. Prof. Bhandarkar says: 'In Cave inscriptions Yavanas are frequently mentioned as making gifts in connection with chaityas or monastic residences. At Cārle we have two names of Yavanas and one named Sihadhoya [Singhadhvaja] and the other Dharma. At Junar we find mention of three called, Isila, Chiṭa [Chitra] and Chandra. At Nāsik the name of only one Yavana is specified, viz., Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharma Deva. They all turned Buddhist laymen and that all of them except one had assumed Hindu names.'²

Heliodorus, an ambassador from Antialkidas to Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā was a Vaishṇava. Rudradāman, another Śaka chief was a staunch Brāhmaṇist.

Another feature of the period is the catholic spirit of religion. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, his mother Gau-

¹ Ib. p. 78.

² Ib. Also Cf. Indian Antiquary, 1911, p. 15 ff.

tami Balaśrī and his son Puḷumāvi were staunch followers of Brāhmanism but excavated caves for Buddhist monks. Their charities were not confined to their faith but freely extended also to Buddhism.

Gautamī Balasrī excavated a cave for the residence of the Bhadrāyaṇa Buddhist monks [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.]. Śātakaṛṇi and his grandson Puḷumāvi granted a piece of land and a village respectively for the maintenance of the monks and repairs of the Cave [Ep. Ind. VIII, pp. 71 ; 65 ff.]. They similarly gave a village to the Buddhist establishment at Cārle. Another noteworthy fact of the religious condition of this period is that the espousal of a different religion did not entail the loss of caste. Perhaps the most typical case is that of a Brāhman called Ayitilu, whose wife Bhāyilā makes the benefaction of a Chaitya-gṛiha to the Buddhist community, settled in the Kudā Caves [Lüder's List No. 1050]. That the husband was a Buddhist is certain, because he has actually been called an upāsaka.¹ An important example of the liberal spirit of the Hindu society of that age was the marriage of the Brāhman Sātavāhana prince Śrī Puḷumāvi with the daughter of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman.

An idea of the constitution of the Hindu Society in the Deccan at this period is obtained from the status and caste names frequently specified of the donors mentioned in the Cave inscriptions. Those of the highest rank amongst these were of course the Mahārāṭhis [Mahārāshṭrikas], Mahābhojas and the Mahāsenāpatis. They occupied the position of the feudatory chieftains. Second in order of rank came the officers such as Amātyas or Rājāmātyas, Mahāmātras, and Bhaṇḍāgārikas. The former two correspond to the modern District Collectors and the third to the Treasurer. Of the same status [*i.e.* of the second ranks] are Nigama, Sārthavāha and Śreshṭhin. Nigama is an ordinary merchant, and Sārthavāha, the leader of a caravan of traders. Śreshṭhin was the head of a guild of merchants. The latter two, again, correspond to aldermen

and took an important part in the administration of the town corporate. The third in order of social rank were the Lekhaka [Scribe] Vaidya [physician] Malakīya [Cultivator], Suvarṇakāra [Goldsmith], Gāndhika [Druggist]. To the lowest class have to be assigned Vardhakī [Carpenter], Mālākāra [Gardener], Lohavāṇija [Blacksmith], and Dāssaka [Fisherman]. The middle class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people was split up into a number of grīhas [homesteads] or Kuṭumbas or Kulas [families]. The head of each of them was called a *grīhapati* or *kuṭumbin* and occupied a position of authority. One noteworthy custom of this period is for a male individual of the Kshatriya class to specify his metronymic along with his proper name. In Northern India the practice was to form the metronymic from the name of the country over which the mother's father ruled. Thus Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛiha styles himself as Vaidehi-putra, son of the daughter of the Vaidehi prince. In South India the custom seems to be to adopt the metronymic from that of a Brāhman, *gotra*. Accordingly we have got such metronymics as Gautami-putra, Vāsishṭhī-putra, Kautsī, Kauśikī, etc., all derived from Brāhman *gotras*.¹

Important facts *re.* the economic condition of the Deccan can be gleaned from the epigraphs of the period. The currency of the province was kārshāpaṇas, both silver and copper. The

Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanikā speaks of
 Economic condi- having given 24,000 kārshāpaṇas as *dakshina*.
 tion: Currency.

The Nāsik Inscription of Ushavadāta of about the same period speaks of 70,000 kārshāpaṇas having been given away to gods and Brāhmaṇas. In this particular epigraph we are distinctly told that 70,000 kārshāpaṇas are equivalent to 200 gold coins, each suvarṇa being equivalent to 35 kārshāpaṇas.² Here the rate of exchange between a silver kārshāpaṇa and the current gold coin is indicated at 1 : 35. The reference to the Suvarṇa coins, according to Prof. Rapson, must be the contemporary gold currency of the

¹ IA., June 1919.

² Ep. Ind. VIII. p. 82 ff.

Kushans. Ushavadāta's father-in-law Nahapāna was a Kshatrapa not only of Kujula Kadphises but also of Vima Kadphises, who was the first Kushān sovereign to introduce gold coinage. No other foreign ruler, either Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Scythian, seems to have struck it before him. Vima Kadphises's gold coins must, therefore, have been current in Nahapāna's time at the exchange rate of 1 : 35 to the indigenous silvśr kārshāpaṇas.¹

Śreṇis or craft-guilds were a normal feature of the age. At Govardhana near the Nāsik or Tiraśmi Caves there were no less than four different descriptions of guilds, viz., *tilapīśhaka* or oilmiller's guild, *Odayantrika* or Sreṇis, guild of artisans fabricating hydraulic engines, *Kularika* or potter's guild and *Kolika-nikāya* or weaver's guild. In the town near the Junar Caves there were at least three guilds, one of Dhamñikas, or corn-dealers, the second of *Vāmsakāras*, bamboo-workers and the third of *Kānsākāras* or braziers. There must have been many more guilds not only at Govardhana or near Junar but also in other districts, of which no mention has been made. The Jātakas which portray social life of the sixth century B.C. make mention of several such guilds. The conclusion is plain that both North and South India was studded with guilds from the sixth century B.C. to the third century A. D. Now the prevalence of craft-guilds shows that institutions of self-government were by no means uncommon in India. The Śreṇis were not only craft or trade-guilds but were also something like modern banks, because anybody could invest any sums here and receive interest on them. Further, very often perpetual endowments [*akṣaya nīvi*] were made to them. Ushavadāta made two such permanent endowments to the two Kulika-Nigamas or Śreṇis, one for providing new robes [Chivarikāni] and the other for minor food necessities [*Krishāṇna*] [Lp. Ind. VIII, p. 82 ff.] It is an important matter to note that although Ushavadāta was a high personage, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna, ruling over Rajputana, Central India, Kathiāwār Gujrāt and the Deccan, he did not arrange for

¹ IA., June, 1919. p. 81.

the feeding and robbing from the local district treasury but deposited sums in two guilds. Why did he do so? It was probably because an empire is established and destroyed in no time, but a guild was a permanent institution.¹

Another important fact that can be gleaned from the epigraphs of the period is the rate of interest yielding from capital investments. For the *Akshaya-nīri* of Ushavadāta to the two guilds—
 Rate of Interest, one paid interest at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, the other at the rate of 9 per cent per annum [Ib.]. The rate of interest appears to be high in our time. But in ancient India it was not considered high. Monthly interest at the rate of 2 per cent from a Brāhman debtor, 3 per cent from a Kshatriya, 4 per cent from a Vaiśya, and 5 per cent from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law givers [Manu, VIII, 142, Yāj. II, 38, Vishṇu VI, 2].

Kārshāpaṇa was a coin [of copper, gold or silver] weighing 1 Karsha = 80 Ratis = 146.4 grains [1 Rati = 1.83 grains]. The gold Suvarṇa, the copper Paṇa and Kautilya's silver Dharaṇa are of this weight. The silver Dharaṇa or Purāṇa
 Weight of the was however, usually of 32 Ratis = 58.56
 Currency grains. But the silver coins of Nahapāna, though called kārshāpaṇas were evidently lighter than the standard kārshāpaṇa shown above. They were only of about 36 grains and thirty five of them made one Suvarṇa.²

Foreign commerce and trade were flourishing, and the Deccan took no insignificant part in the commercial relations of India with the west. An account of it is contained in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which describes the Egyptian
 Foreign Commerce trade with East Africa and India. Ships from the Western Countries sailed down the Red Sea and followed the Arabian Coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza [Broach] and other direct to the ports of Lymrika [Malabar]. From Barygaza the coast immediately adjoining stretched from

¹ Ib. p. 82.

² S. I. Vol., p. 158, n. 5.

the north directly to the south, and the country is, therefore, called Dakshinabares [Dakshṇāpatha]. Among the marts in the island part of the South Country, there were two of particular importance—Paithan and Tagara [Mod. Ter. in the Naldrug district, Nizam's Dominions].¹ The harbours were Surppara [Śopārā] and Keliena [Kalyāna]. In regard to the last port we are informed that it was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the Elder Sarganes. The Elder Sarganes is probably Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Ptolemy who wrote only six decades after the author of the *Periplus* does not mention Kalyana which probably lost all importance by that time. We have already noticed the numismatic evidence of the development of marine and commerce in the time of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi [Supra p. 178], coins having a two-masted ship with a fish and a couch and the legend of *Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* [J.N.S.I. Vol. III, pt. I, 1941, pp. 43-45.]

The Sātavāhana kings were great patrons of Prākṛit, as a large number of official epigraphs recorded in that language show. Tradition ascribes to one of their kings Hāla with the authorship of a Prākṛit poem called the *Sattasai* [Saptaśataka]. The reputed author of the original Bṛhatkathā in the Paisāchī dialect, Guṇādhyā, is said to have flourished in this period. It must be noted that the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings, though Brahmans, used Prākṛit for their documents, although the Prākṛit of that time shows a considerable influence of Sanskrit. Mr. Allan points out that Sarva-Varman produced the *Kātantra* for the benefit of an Andhra king who was "ashamed of his ignorance of Sanskrit and found Pāṇini too difficult" [*Camb. Short Hist. Ind.* p. 61.]

II KING KHĀRAVELA OF KALINGA

While the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the western Deccan under their third king Śātakarṇi, the Kalingas rose as a great rival power to them in the Eastern Deccan. After Aśoka's time the history of Kalinga [roughly equivalent to modern Orissa] is wrapped in

darkness. The veil of darkness is lifted by the discovery of the Hāthigumphā Inscription¹ on the Udayagiri hills near Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District. The inscription which is in Prākṛit is a comprehensive record of the achievements of its author, king Khāravela of Kālīṅga. It says that Khāravela was the third king of the Cheta dynasty. Having spent his early youth up to the fifteenth year in receiving all kings of physical exercises and instructions in the different branches of study, e.g., writing, arithmetic, finances and law,² necessary for a crown prince, he was consecrated to the office of the heir-apparent in his 16th year and crowned king on the completion of his 24th year [*Samṇuṃṇa chatuvisati vasa*] at about 24 B. C.³

He spent the first year of his reign [*padhame vase*] in completing certain works of public utility in the city of Kālīṅga, such as repairs of walls and gateways damaged by storm [*Vāta-vibita-gopura-pākāra*] and construction of tanks with Events of his Reign steps for the supply of cool water at a cost of 1 lakh of coins [*sitala-tadāga-pāḍiyo cha bandhā-payati*] and provided recreations to his subjects [*pakatiya cha raṅgayati*] at a cost of 35 lakhs of coins [*panati-sābi-sata-sabaschi* skt. *panchatrimsat śatasabasraiḥ*]. In the second year of his reign [*dutiye cha vasa*] he defied the power of Śātakarṇi by sending to the west [*Sātakanini pacchhimadisam*] a large force consisting of horse, elephant, foot and chariots which attacked the city of Asika on the Krishṇā and destroyed it [*vitasi*]. In the third year of his reign he provided all sorts of entertainments to the citizens e.g., high class dancing, music [vocal and instrumental] shows and feasts [*gandharva-vedabudho daṇḍa-nata-gita-vādita-saṃdasaṃnāti-usava-samāja*]. In the fourth year of his reign [*chabuthe vase*] he compelled the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas to submit to him. In the fifth year of his reign [*pañchame cha dāni vase*] he completed a work of

¹ Ep. Ind. XX, 1930; JBORS, 1918 and 1928.

² सरीरवता कीडिता कुमार कीडिका ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विसारदेन

³ It is not clear whether his father died before or at his 24th year. About the date of his accession see Appendix II.

great public utility : he extended from the Tanusulia road up to the city the canal which king Nanda had opened 300 years ago [*Naṁdarāja tivasasata-oghātītām tanasulia vāṭā paṇādim nagaram pavesayti*]. In the sixth year [*Chchhate Vase*] he bestowed large favours [*anugaha anekāni*] to the people of urban and rural areas [*paura-jānapadam*] which cost him one hundred thousand coins [*śata sabaschi*]. The account of the achievements of the seventh year of his reign is doubtful. In the eighth year of his reign [*athame cha vase*] he stormed Gorathagiri and harassed the people of Rajgrīha. Gorathagiri was a hill fort on the modern, Barabar hills in the Gaya District of Bihar. In the ninth year of his reign he built a large Palace of Victory [*mahā-vijaya-pāsādam*] at a cost of 38 lakhs of coins [*aṭhatisaya sata sabasehi*]. The record of the tenth year cannot be made out. In the eleventh year of his reign [*ekadasame cha vase*] having possessed himself of a large booty obtained from the retreating enemy [*pāyāt nam skt. palāyita śātrūṇām*] reclaimed the ruins of the old city of Pithunda, founded by a former king, and had it cultivated by ass drawn ploughs [*puvamarāja-nivesitām Pithudam gadhabha naṁgalena kāsayati*]. It is clear that he turned a ruined city into a large agricultural farm.¹ In the same year he broke a confederacy of Tamil States of the South [*abhinat tramiradeśa samghatām*]. In the twelfth year of his reign [*bārasame cha vase*] the achievements recorded are as follows: He led a large expeditionary force to the north [*uttarāpadha*] and created consternation among the people of Magadha while he watered his elephants and horses in the Ganges [*Māgadhbānam cha vipulam bhayam janeto bathasam Gangāya pāyayati*]. He compelled Brihaspatimitra, king of Magadha [*Magadham cha rājanam*] to submit to him [*pāde bandhapayati*] and brought back the image of Jina belonging to Kalinga, which had been taken away by king Nanda, and carried with him a large booty from Aṅga and Magadha [*Aṅga-Magadha-Vasum*]. He also refers to his victory

¹ Dr. Jayaswal reads the above passage differently : *puvaraja nivesitām pithudaga dabha nagale nekāsayati* "Caused the grassy overgrowth of Prithudaka [city] founded by a former king, to be let out in the Langala [river].

² Sanskritised version of Jayaswal's reading.

over the king of the Pāṇḍyas in the same year from whom he brought hundreds of thousands of gems and pearls [*muta-maniratanāni ācharāpayati satasabasāni*]. He then adorned the hill-tops with strong and beautiful gopuras and wonderful residences for elephants [*abhūtamchhariyam hastinivāsam*]. In the thirteenth year of his reign [*tera sane cha vase*] he built in the Kumārī hill [*Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills*] caves for the residence of the Arhats during the rainy season and other worthy purposes at a cost of more than 15 lakhs.

So the achievements of King Khāravela have been chronicled from year to year up to the thirteenth year of his reign. We can, therefore, conclude that he reigned at least for 13 years. The inscription also throws light on the personality of the great king. He was a Jaina by faith, but tolerant to all religions which he equally respected [*sava-pāsāṃ da-pūjaka*], and repaired the temples of all gods [*sarā-devāyatana-sakāra-kāraka*]. Himself deeply learned in śāstras and all kinds of arts, he greatly patronised them. He is described as a Rājarshi and a scion of the Vasu [same as Cheta or Chedi] family and possessing a mighty force of irresistible strength [*apatibata-chaka-rāhana-vali*].

[APPENDIX II]

ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF KHĀRAVELA

King Khāravela of Kāliṅga is an important and by now a familiar historical personage. A great deal of work has been done on the Hāthīgumphā inscription in the Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneśvara in the Puri District. The inscription records from year to year Khāravela's career. A lot of controversy has raged round his date, and the object of this paper is to discuss this problem.

Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji for the first time gave, in 1883,¹ a full transcription with notes and translations which marked

¹ *Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists*, Leyden, 1833.

a vast improvement on earlier attempts begun in 1825 and continued to 1880.¹ Indrajī finds in line 16 mention of an era. *Muriya Kāla*, from which he deduces the date of Khāravela. He finds the relevant passages in lines 16—17 and reads them as one sentence beginning with *vedariya gabhe patiṭhāpayati panam̐tariya saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja muriya kāle vochine ca coyaṭhi aga satikutariyam cupādyati khemarāja sa vadbarāja sa bhikurāja* etc. in line 16, and ending with *mahāvijayo rāja khāravela siri* (the last word of the last line i.e. line 17 of the inscription], who is identified by him with Bhikurāja of previous line. Both the reading and the syntax are doubtful as will be shown later. But he made his own meaning clear by his translation which runs as follows:—

“The victorious and illustrious king Khāravela (named) the Bhikshurāja (son) of Vridhharāja (who was the son) of Kshemarāja and clever in various qualities, etc. born in the family of royal sages, does this (referring to the architectural constructions in the cave) in the one hundred sixty fifth year of the Maurya kings, after one hundred and sixty four years had passed (*choyaṭhi aga satikutariyam*).” On the basis of his reading, syntax and translations he draws up both a genealogy and a chronology of King Khāravela. I am not concerned here with his genealogy which I consider wrong because of his taking Vṛddharāja and Bhiksurāja in the genitive case, but with the chronology he has given. He reads the relevant passages *panam̐tariya saṭhivasasate*, made clear by this interpretation of the word ‘vochine’ as ‘Vicchinne’ (expired or ended) which precedes the words which he reads as *coyaṭhi aga satikutariyam*. According to this reading he finds a so-called Maurya era which he takes to begin in the eighth year of Aśoka’s reign which, again he thinks, starts about 263 B.C. On the basis of his reading of the passage quoted above and his assumptions regarding the date of Aśoka’s accession, when, according to him, the Maurya era begins, he draws up the chronology as follows : (263—8) = c.

¹ Sterling, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. 1825 Major Kittoe’s facsimile read and published by Prinsep. *J.A.S.B.*, 1837, Cunningham, C. I. I. Vol. I Old series. 1977; Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*. 1880.

255 B.C. being the initial year of the era (255—165)=c. 90 B.C. is the date of his architectural constructions in the cave, and these having been done in the 13th year of his (Khāravela's) reign, his accession took place in $(90 + 13) = c. 103$ B.C., his yauvarājya nine years before in 112 B.C. and his birth 24 years before his accession in 127 B.C. Indrajī himself is in doubt as to the existence of a Maurya era which he says 'has not been found anywhere' (Ibid. 149). But he worked out his chronology on this doubtful basis. Both Fleet¹ and Luders² denied the existence of a date in line 16 of the inscription. Dr. Jayaswal who earlier (JBORS 1917) accepted the existence of the era '165 Maurya Kāla' in line 16 finally gave it up (JBORS 1927) but found other evidences to put Khāravela in the first quarter of the second century B.C., taking him to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He identifies Bahaspatimita or Bḥaspatimitra mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription whom Khāravela defeated in the twelfth year of his reign on the ground that Brahhaspati is mentioned in the *Sāṅkhayana Grhya Sūtra* (1. 12.6) as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation of stars (JBORS Vol. III, 1917). The argument is of doubtful validity and is not at all convincing.³ He further argues that a king of this very name figures in the Pabhosā inscription and on a coin found in Kosam. Bahaspatimita of the Pabhosā inscription was probably a local king of Kauśāmbī, whose maternal uncle Asādhasena excavated the cave in the reign of 'Udaka' whom Jayaswal himself restored Odraka, as the fifth Śuṅga king. How can this Bahaspatimita then be the same person as the first Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra? He seeks to explain the coin name Bahaspatimita for Puṣyamitra by the fact that some other Śuṅga and later Śuṅga kings appear in different names on their coins. He says that the Purāṇic names, Vasumitra Vasujyeṣṭha, Ghoṣavasū, Vajramitra, Devabhūti appear as Bhānumitra, Jetaṃmitra, Bhadrakhoṭa, Indramitra,

¹ J.R.A.S., 1910.

² Luders's List in E.I. Vol. X, (Appendix).

³ R. B. Chanda, *I.I.L.Q.* 1929, p. 595 f; Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 3rd Ed., p. 255.

Devamitra on the coins respectively. But the question arises: are the identifications beyond any dispute? They were probably rulers of local dynasties—new-Mitra or later Śuṅga kings ruling in Ayodhyā and Bareilly Districts, where a large number of these coins have been found, after the break up of the Śuṅga empire. Dr. V. Smith places them on the ground of scripts between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.¹ Moreover, unlike them, Puṣaymitra Śuṅga appears in the inscriptions in his Purāṇic name. It is unusual that he should have chosen a different name for his coin found in Kosam.

Dr. V. Smith² and Prof. Dubreuil³ accepted the date worked out by Indrajī and Jayaswal and Placed Khāravela in the second century B.C. Prof. Rapson also did the same, though in a non-committal way. He writes: "The inscription *probably* belongs to about the second century B.C."⁴ As we have seen, Dr. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up Indrajī's reading of the passages in question in line 16 on which he had based his earlier theory. The passages as finally edited⁵ now are: *catave ca veḍuriya-gabhe tbaṁbhe paṭiḥāpayati pānatariya-sata-sabasehi* (stop) *mu(khi)yakala—vochinaṁ ca coya(thi)-aṅga saṁtika-(in) turiyaṁ upādayati* (stop). The remaining words of line 16, *Khemarājā sa Vaḍharāja sa Bhikhurājā Dhamarājā*, etc. form part of the next sentence ending with *rājā Khāravela siri* in line 17. As you will notice this new reading and syntax are completely different from Indrajī's. The splitting up of the sentences and reading of *satasabasehi* for *saḥbivasasate*, *mukhiya* for *Muriya*, *Kala* for *Kāle*, *aṅga* for *aga*, *santikaṁturiyaṁ* for *satikutariyaṁ* are the keystones of this revised reading. The phrase *pānatariy satsabasehi*, as the syntax shows, with which the first sentence in line 16 ends, refers to the cost of five lakhs of coins incurred for the decoration of the cave with ornamented pillars *veḍuriya gabhet tbaṁbhe*. This

¹ *Coins of the Indian Museum*, p. 185.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1918.

³ *A.H.D.*, 1920.

⁴ *Camb. Hist. of India* I, p. 535.

⁵ Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 210.

gives a better sense. Khāravēla was particular about stating the amount of money he spent on various occasions. For instance, in line 3, he states to have spent 35 lakhs to restore the works of the city damaged by storm in the first year of his reign. He mentions to have spent in the ninth year of his reign 38 lakhs to build the great Victory Palace *mahāvijaya-pasāda* (L.10). Consequently, *pānatariya satasabasebi* appears to be the only reasonable reading. The sentence, which immediately follows it, speaks of his patronage to arts befitting peacetimes, including principal ones (*mukhiya kāla vochinām*) which Dr. Sircar rightly interprets as *gīta nr̥tyadi samanvitām*. There is no reference to any date, of a *muriya kāla*, 165 years or 164 years expired, counted backward from the 13th year of Khāravēla's reign. Thus there is no data to place Khāravēla in the second century B.C. which some historians including Professor Rapson did.

II

On the other hand, certain palaeographical, monumental and internal evidences found in the epigraph point to the last quarter of the first century B.C. as the date of the author of the inscription. A Śātakarṇi appears in the Hāthīgumphā inscription whom Khāravēla defeated in the second year of his reign. A Śātakarṇi also appears in the Nānāghāt inscription of his wife Nāyanikā. Prof. Rapson, while discussing the date of Khāravēla, refers to Bühler's *Indian palaeography* p. 38, in which the latter takes both the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā and the inscription of Khāravēla to belong to the same chronological group and places them in the middle of the second century B.C.¹ This was in 1904 when the date of Khāravēla discovered by Indrajī held the field. He refers to Indrajī's paper on Khāravēla and writes: "Khāravēla's inscription *must have been inscribed between B.C. 157 and 147 as the king's 13th year is said to correspond to the year 165 of the Maurya*"² (Italics mine). This shows his mind was not completely free from this influence. Later scholars

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XIII. 1904, Appendix.

² *Ibid.*

like Prof. Chanda, however, place the Nānāghāṭ records on the grounds of palaeography much later.¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns them, on the same ground to the latter half of the first century B.C.² The well known scholars on architecture, Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess, in their great work on the *Cave Temples of India*, assigned the Nāsik *Caitya Hall* to the latter half of the first century B. C. Modern art critics agree to this date.³ Now, according to Sir John Marshall, a small *vihāra*, excavated during the time of the second Andhra king Kṛṣṇa is 'of the same age' as the Nāsik *Caitya Hall*. So if Kṛṣṇa flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C., the date of his nephew Śātakarṇī who succeeded him and the date of Śātakarṇī's wife's Nānāghāṭ inscription, cannot be placed earlier than the close of the second half of the beginning of the last quarter of the first century B.C. So, Khāravela does not need to be placed in the second century B.C. for reasons of identification of Śātakarṇī I as his contemporary, as earlier scholars like Bühler and others did.

A Śrī Śātakarṇī also appears in the inscription on the Sāñci *torana*, as its donor. He is to be identified with the third Andhra king Śātakarṇī I. This identification involves no chronological impossibilities. The region of Vidiśā in which Sāñci falls was in possession of the Śuṅga dynasty up to at least its ninth king Bhāgabhadra, as the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Heliodoras proves. Bhāgabhadra's reign, according to the Purāṇas, ended in c. 82 B.C. Eastern Malwa including Vidiśā probably fell to the Andhras about the same time as its northern portion when the Śuṅga power broke up. According to the Purāṇic chronology the Śuṅga dynasty ended about 72 B.C.⁴ Therefore, I agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri when he places Simuka in the Kāṇva period and makes him a contemporary with the Kāṇva

¹ *M.A.S.I.* No. 1.

² *Select Inscriptions* I, p. 113, n.

³ *Camb. His. Ind.* I, p. 636 f.

⁴ Taking B. C. 184 as the year of Puṣyamitra's accession and the total reign-period of the ten Śuṅga kings as 112 years, as stated in the Purāṇas.

king Suśarman (c. 38—28 B.C.).¹ The recognition of Simuka dynasty as an imperial power by the Purāṇas, of course, begins in 27 B.C., the interval of 45 years being assigned to the Kāṇvas. The Purāṇas assign to Simuka's brother 10 years of reign. Assuming B.C. 28 or 27 as the last year of Simuka's reign, Śātakarṇi I came to the throne about 17 B.C. and this not only satisfies the Purāṇic chronological order as shown above, but also the reasons of palaeography, for it has been pointed by R. B. Chanda, as against Bühler's views, that the inscription of Nāyanikā is later than the Besnagar inscription.² So Khāravela who was a contemporary of Śātakarṇi I, who appears in the Nānāghaṭ and Sāñci inscriptions, both of the first century B. C., naturally belongs to the same period, and not to the second century B. C.

A more positive data for Khāravela's chronology is found in line 6 of the Hāthīgumphā inscription. It states. *Pacame ca dānīvase Nandarāja tivasasata oghāṣitam tanasuliya vātā paṇḍim nagaram pavesayati*. Khāravela extended up to the city through Tanasulia road the aqueduct which had been opened by King Nanda three hundred years ago. *Ti vasa sata* which was earlier translated as 103 years by Indrajī and Jayaswal, is now taken to mean 300 years. Even Dr. Jayaswal accepts it, but identifies Nandarāja with Nandivardhana. But how can Nandivardhana be taken as King Nanda? The Purāṇas call him Nandivardhana and not Nandavardhana. In the latter case, there might have been some justification to identify him with the Nandarāja of the inscription. Moreover, according to the Purāṇas, he is a Śaiśunāga king and the first Nanda king is Mahāpadma Nanda. The Purāṇas do not speak very enthusiastically of the Nanda kings, because the last Śaiśunāga king Mahānandin became the founder of this dynasty through his marriage with a Śūdra woman. Mahāpadmananda is called *Śūdragarbbhodbhava* but is yielded uncommon praise for his prowess as the destroyer of many Kṣatriya races, and being the sole monarch (ekarāt). Among the dynasties

¹ P.H.I. Ed. 3rd., p. 277.

² M.S.A.I.I. pp. 14—15.

whose chronologies are given in the Purāṇas in the interval between the last Śaiśunāga king and the first Nanda king of Magadha are also the Kalingas. It is probable that Mahāpadmananda defeated the Kalingas of the South-Eastern India along with the Haihayas, Aśmakas, Vitihotras, Mithilas, Kurus, Pañcālas, Sūrasenas, Kāśīs and Ikṣvākūs of Central and Northern India, to be justifiably called by the Purāṇas *ekarāṭ* and *sarva kṣatrāntaka*. So there is more reason to identify the Nandarāja of the inscription with Mahāpadmananda rather than with Nandivardhana. Jayaswal probably did it in order to bring the date of Khāravela to the 2nd century B.C., so as to maintain him as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. So if Mahāpadmananda is the king who is to be calculated 300 years backward to the fifth year of Khāravela's reign, we get a key to the date of Khāravela as well as to his inscription.

The Purāṇas differ as to the length of the reign period of Mahāpadma. But there is no difference as to the total reign period of his eight successors who ruled (probably jointly) for 12 years. Taking this period of 12 years into account and accepting 322 B.C. as the year of Candragupta Maurya's accession which is more or less a fixed point of chronology, we may work backward to find the last date of Mahāpadmananda which comes to (322 plus 12) 334 B.C. Therefore the extension of the canal could not at any rate have taken place after 334 B. C. The mention of a round figure of 300 years is a conventional form of expression and may not be taken too literally. Other round figures like 10, 20 or 25 may be permitted to add to it in order to find synchronisms. And this synchronism is the contemporaneity of Khāravela with Śātakarṇi I, the third king of the Śātavāhanakula. We may therefore take 334 B.C. as the starting point for our purpose.

If, say, 20 years are added to 300, the date of extension of the canal took place in c. (334—320) 14 B. C. and his accession 5 years before in 19 B.C. In line 2 of the epigraph we find details of his early life from which we gather that he became heir-apparent at the age of 16 and king at the age of 24. He was therefore 29 years old when he was king for 5 years at the time of the exten-

sion of the aqueduct in 14 B.C. We may thus draw up a tentative chronology of Khāravēla as follows :

Birth 29 plus 14	c. 43 B.C.
Yauvarājya 43—16	c. 27 B.C.
Accession 43—24	c. 19 B.C.

The epigraph gives details of his reign from year to year up to the 13th year. The inscription was therefore engraved in the 13th or 14th year of his reign and this brings the date of the inscription to c. (19—14) 5 B.C. This tentative chronology agrees with the Purāṇic data and satisfies other synchronisms, the most important of which is that of the date of Khāravēla's fight with Śātakarṇi I, which according to the epigraph took place in the 2nd year of Khāravēla's reign, i.e. 17 B.C. a data which, as has been shown above, falls with the reign of the third Andhra king.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF FOREIGN INVASIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

The period under review is one of great upheaval which followed the downfall of the great Maurya empire and break up of the political unity of the country. The principal political powers were the Śungas in Middle India and the Andhras in the Deccan. The Punjab and the North Western Frontiers were ruled by a scion of the Maurya dynasty,¹ who was evidently too weak to resist the foreigners. The foreign powers which in succession poured through the gates of India during this period and made settlements in the country were the Yavanas [Bactrian Greeks], the Śakas [Indo-Scythians], the Pahlavas [Indo-Parthians], and the Kushāṇas. They all will be treated under separate sections.

[SEC. A]

THE INDO-GREEKS

After Alexander's death, the Greek colony Bactria formed part of the empire of Seleukus Nikator who ruled the eastern possessions of Alexander. About the middle of the third century B.C. there were two important defections from the Seleukid empire. Parthia under its national leader Arsakes and Bactria under the Greek Governor Diodotus revolted. Diodotus was succeeded to the throne by his son Diodotus II. About the last quarter of the third century B. C., Diodotus II was killed by another Greek adventurer, Euthydemus who seized the throne for himself.

Antiochus III, the Seleukid emperor of Syria [c. 223-185 B.C.] made a determined attempt to recover Euthydemus. the lost provinces. He invaded Bactria about 208 B.C. and, after a protracted battle lasting for two years, made peace with Euthydemus, recognised the

¹ Subhāgasena, a descendent of Virasena, the founder of an independent western line of Mauryas, according to Tārānātha.

independence of Bactria and gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos.

Following this peace with Euthydemos, Antiochus invaded India [c. 207 B. C.] and renewed the traditional friendship of his royal house with the Indian king of Gandhāra, Sophagasenos [Subhāgasena], who, as the name suggests, was the successor of Virasena. Virasena, according to Buddhist writers, represented the western line of Asoka's successors, ruling in Gandhāra.¹ Receiving a gift of war elephants from his Indian ally, Antiochus hurried back with all speed towards Mesopotamia where serious troubles were brewing.

In the meantime, Euthydemos pushed the frontiers of the Bactrian kingdom southwards until they included the lower portion of Afghanistān. He also watched with keen interest the Indian expedition of Antiochus III which, if it had no result of importance, showed the weakness of resistance which naturally followed the break up of the Mauryan empire. So, after the Seleukid forces had withdrawn, the eyes of Euthydemos longingly turned towards the land of the Five Rivers. In his southward move, he was able to possess himself before his death [c. 190 B.C.] possibly at the expense of Subhāgasena, of the former Mauryan possessions of Paroponisadae [Kabul Valley] and Arachosia [Kandahar] and other provinces which Seleukus I had ceded to Chandragupta.

The actual invasion of the Indian soil was left to his son and successor, Demetrios. Indian conquests included the Indus Valley and possibly some parts of the Punjab. He fixed his capital at Sāgala [Sialkot] *Euthydemia* after his father.² The city of *Dāttāmitrī* in Sauvira mentioned in the *Siddhānta Kaumidī* probably owes its origin to Demetrios.³

¹ CHI, Vol. i., p. 511, cf. Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism*; trans. Schiefner, pp. 48 f.

² Ib. p. 446.

³ Transactions of the International Congress of the Orientalists, London, 1874, p. 345. In the *Siddh. Kaum.* under Pān, IV. 2,76. *Dāttāmitrī* is given as an instance of a Sauvira town. R. G. Bhandarkar suggests the town to be *Demetria*.

A passage in the Yuga Purāṇa, one of the chapters of the Gārgi-Saṃhitā refers to the Yavanas who, after reducing Sāketa [in Oudh], the Pañchāla, and Mathurā, reached Kusumadhvaja [Pāṭaliputra]. A passage in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣhya refers to the siege of Madhyamikā [Nāgarī, near Chittor] and Sāketa by the "Yavana" in Pushyamitra's time [*Supra* p. 159 f.]. A passage in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* also refers to a conflict, as we have seen [*Supra* p. 160 f.] on the river Sindhu, in which a Yavana force was defeated in the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga by the king's grandson Vasumitra. In none of the above passages, the name of the Yavana invader is mentioned, but it is not difficult to see that the Yavana invaders, referred to, are the Bactrian Greeks. We have seen [*Supra* p. 70] that Demetrios fulfilled the dreams of his father by actually invading the soil of India and making some conquests in the Indus Valley and in the Punjab where he built the town of *Euthydemia*, in the name of his father. It may be, he led on an invasion further down the country through Madhyamikā, Panchāla, Ajodhya, up to the gates of Pāṭaliputra which he evidently failed to take. This invasion referred to in the *Gārgi Saṃhitā* and in the *Pāṭañjula*, probably could not have taken place much after Pushyamitra's accession in c. 184 B.C., when Demetrios was in his middle age, having married,¹ Antiochus III's daughter in 206 B.C. when he was at least a youth of 17 or 18 and Pushya-Mitra Śuṅga was, no doubt, in the prime of his life, having reigned for 36 years since that date. The conflict between the Yavana forces and Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra, who was evidently of sufficient age to be selected as commander of the force to guard the sacrificial horse, referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, must have occurred some considerable time after the Yavana invasion of Pāṭaliputra by Demetrios. By that time Pushyamitra was firmly seated on the throne, established his empire after defeating all oppositions and was in a position to celebrate his empire buildings by performing a horse-sacrifice. Naturally he came into conflict with the Yavanas whom his grandson defeated. This event is probably associated with his second and last horse-sacrifice which evidently took place

¹ CHI., Vol. i., p. 644.

about the close of his reign which ended in c. 149 or 148 B.C. The leader of the Yavana forces referred to here cannot be Demetrios, who is supposed to have reigned from C. 190-160 B.C.,¹ but Menander who undoubtedly survived him and ruled, as we shall presently see, the Central and South Eastern Punjab as a successor of the line of Euthydemos and Demetrios.² The Greek writers bear eloquent testimony to Menander's exploits in India and say that "these [Indian] conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios" [Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100-1].

While Demetrios was busy with his Indian conquests, Bactria slipped out of his hands by a successful revolt of the people under the leadership of Eukratides, the general and brother-in-law of Antiochus IV. [c. 175 B.C.]. All attempts of Demetrios to dislodge his rival from his position completely failed. But even in his Indian possessions, Demetrios was not left undisturbed. Eukratides pursued him into India and wrested from him or his successor Sind and West Punjab, and the princes of the house of Euthydemos had to rest content with the eastern districts of the Punjab. Thus were the Indian conquests of Demetrios divided between the two rival houses of Indo-Bactrian rulers.

THE HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMOS

Coins are our only source of information about the numerous Indo-Greek kings who succeeded the heads of the two rival houses of Euthydemos and Eukratides. We know very little about them except their names provided by the several hoards of coins discovered in Taxila and other places. Such Indo-Greek kings as Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, the Stratos, Hippostratos and others belong, according to numismatists to the house of Euthydemos and Demetrios.

¹ *Ib.* p. 698

² Cf. My article on the *Yavana Invasions*. J. G. R. S. IV. I.

Of these kings, Menander alone stands prominent as the only Indo-Greek king who has an abiding place in ancient Indian literature. He is unquestionably to be identified with Milinda, the Yavana king of Śākala [Sialkot], who figures in the *Milindapañha* as the royal personage putting subtle questions to the Buddhist Thera, Nāgasena, who ultimately satisfied his doubts and converted him to Buddhism. As a philosopher and debator, he was a worthy antagonist to the great Thera Nāgasena. He thus occupied the same eminent position in Buddhist literature as Janaka, king of Videha, did in the Upanishads. He held his court in Śākala, which is described in the *Milindapañha* as a "great centre of trade, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods."¹

The Greek writers describe Menander as a great conqueror. Strabo says that he conquered "more nations than Alexander." The credit of spreading Greek dominions farthest to the east into India is given by Strabo partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios. The great variety of types of his coins and the wide area of their distribution which extend from the Kabul Valley to Mathura undoubtedly indicates that he was the ruler of many kingdoms and that he was a great conqueror. It was most probably under his leadership the Yavanas penetrated as far as Central India where he was defeated by Prince Vasumitra on the river Sindhu as referred to in the *Mālvikāgnimitram* [*Supra*]. According to Prof. Rapson 'Menander and Eukratides were almost certainly contemporary,' as some of their square copper coins, similar in style, show [CHI, Vol. i. p. 551]. As such, Menander must have been one of the Bactrian princes ruling in India immediately after Demetrios who had lost to Eukratides Bactria and Kabul Valley and Menander must have recovered from the house of Eukratides some of the lost possessions of the home [of Euthydemus [with which he was connected by marriage]² in the Kabul Valley where his coins have

¹ Trans. Rhys Davids, SBE., XXXV., p. 2.

² Rapson, CII. p. 552 n. Tarn, GBI, p. 225.

been found. He must have also pursued the expansionist policy of his house towards the south-east. That he had as far east as Mathurā in his dominion is also clear from numismatic evidence. And if Menander had his dominion as far as Mathurā, it is not impossible that he also tried to conquer some territories in central India where the Śuṅgas were ruling. In that case, it is not improbable that the mention of the Yavanas in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to the troops of Menander whom Vasumitra defeated on the Sindhu. Menander was certainly alive when Pushyamitra was still on the throne, before the performance of the horse sacrifice [probably the second one] mentioned in the drama.

His court at Śākala was probably a centre of refuge of the Buddhist monks persecuted by Pushyamitra Śuṅga. A passage in *Divyāvadāna* states that Pushyamitra made a declaration setting a price of one hundred *dināras* on the head of every Buddhist monk at Śākala [*Yo me Śramaṇasīro dāsyati tasyāham dinara sātām dāsyami.*]¹ We have no reason to believe that Pushyamitra ever held Śākala as Tārānātha stated when Menander's sovereignty over Central and Southern Punjab as far down as Mathurā was unquestionable. That Menander was a Buddhist and a zealous one, is a fact. The Shinkot Steatite Casket inscription² recording the placing of the remains of the Buddha's body in the reign of king Menander, confirms the literary evidence of his adherence to Buddhism. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that he should have given shelter to the persecuted Buddhist monks whose rancorous utterances against Pushyamitra must have unrifled his temper to the extent of making the above declaration against the monks residing at Śākala.

Tarn places the death of Menander about 150-45 B. C. [G. B. I., p. 226]. Plutarch informs us that after his death the cities of his realm contended for the honour of preserving his ashes and agreed on a division among themselves in order that memory of his reign should not be lost.³ This story, which is similar to the one connected with the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*, indicates the depth of

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 434.

² Ep. Ind. XX, IV, p. 7.

³ Plutarch: *Moralia*, 821 D.

affection with which his subjects held that Greek Buddhist ruler of India.

About the successors of Menander, we know very little except their coin names. Menander's son and successor Strato I, was minor when his father died and ruled jointly with his mother, Agathokleia, during his minority. Prof. Rapson has shown that Agathokleia was undoubtedly the mother of Strato I Soter [C.H.I., I, p. 552] and that she issued coins in association with her son. This can only be explained by the fact that she acted as Crown Regent during her son's minority. Prof. Rapson further points that Strato I issued coins, ruling at first alone and afterwards in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator [Ib.], who evidently succeeded him. The debased art of Strato I's latest coins and of those in which he is associated with his grandson, seems to show that the house of Euthydemos had fallen on evil days. By the middle of the first century B. C., the kingdoms, held in the eastern Punjab by the last successors of Euthydemos, passed to the hands of the Śakas. Rapson points that the coins of Hippostratus were restruck by Azes I and that the familiar coin type of the house of Euthydemos, the figure of the Goddess Athena, has been used by Rañjuvula, the Śaka Satrap of Mathurā, who only removed the Greek names from the Śaka ones on the restruck coins.

THE HOUSE OF EUKRATIDES

We have seen [*Supra*, p. 198] that Eukratides deposed Demetrios from the throne of Bactria, invaded the countries to the south of the Hindukush and wrested from his rival his dominions in the Kabul Valley, in Ariana and in N. W. India and confined the house of Euthydemos to the South and Eastern Punjab. But while he was returning in triumph from his Indian expedition, he was slain by his son, c. 155 B. C.¹

The son, who murdered Eukratides and succeeded him both in Bactria and India, was Heliocles. He was Heliocles. the last Yavana king of Bactria, for, after him, the Śakas from the steppes of Central Asia overwhelmed Bactria.

¹ CHI, i, p. 554. Tarn [GBI p. 222] however disbelieves the story as given in Justin [XLI, 6.5] explains it otherwise.

We know nothing more about the successors of Heliocles than mere names provided by their numerous coinages. Among those only the name of Antialkidas has been found on an Indian monument. The inscription is on the Garuda Pillar at Besnagar, near Bhilsa in Gwalior state, and it records that the column was erected in honour of Vāsudeva by the Yavana ambassador Heliodorus, son of Dion, an inhabitant of Takshaśilā who had come from the Greek King Antialkidas [*Maharajasa Antilakitasa*] to king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, then in the fourteenth year of his reign.¹ Heliodorus is described in the inscription Bhāgavata or a follower of Viṣṇu. It shows that he was another among the Greeks who had adopted Indian faith. The inscription also testifies to the existence of friendly and diplomatic relations between the Yavana king of Takshaśilā and the Śuṅga king of Vidiśā [Besnagar].

Harmaeus was the last representative of the Yavana house of Eukratides. His kingdom confined to the upper Kābul valley, was the last survival of the Yavana dominions.

Even this diminished territory was hemmed in on every side by actual or possible foes—by the Śakas on the east (N. W. India) by the Pahlavas on the west (Eastern Irān) and by the Yuch-chi on the north (Bactria). It is to the Pahlavas of eastern Irān that the last stronghold of the Yavana power, the Kingdom of Kābul, fell during the time of Harmaeus. That Spalarises, successor of Vonones, probably conquered. Harmaeus is indicated by his coins. The reverse type of coins which he issued as king of eastern Irān is 'Zens enthroned'. The type, as Rapson has shown, is borrowed from the coins of Harmaeus and is to be interpreted as an evidence that his kingdom passed into the hands of the conqueror who copied his coins. Rapson has further shown that the types of these coins of Spalarises are sometimes found restruck on coins of Vonones as if they were intended for circulation in a newly conquered territory²

¹ S.I., pp. 90—91, Lüders, List, No. 669.

² CH.I. vol. I, p. 562, p. 574; also cf. B.M. cat. p. 101, n.

On some coins the name of Harmaeus appears jointly with Kujūla kadphises. It was earlier held by some scholars that Kujūla Kadphises conquered Harmaeus.¹ But this view has now been rightly rejected by them.² Dr. F. W. Thomas has shown that there is evidence to believe that the Kābul valley was in possession of the Pahlavas for period which intervened between the time of Harmaeus and its subsequent conquest by Kujūla Kadphises.³ It has been shown above that the Pahlava conqueror of Harmaeus' kingdom of Kābul was Spalirises.

The coins which bear the name of Harmaeus cover a long period and show progressive stages of their deterioration. The earliest coins which are of good style and metal belong, according to Rapson, 'to the period before any of the squared Greek letters had been introduced'⁴ Later issues are of coarser workmanship; the silver is alloyed, and the square □ appears in the Greek legend.⁵ As the fashion of using square omicron □ side by side with round *omicron* ο, on some of the later Yavana coins e.g. those of Hippostratus began about 40 B. C. Harmaeus' reign must have begun before and continued after 40 B.C. Adding a decade to each side of B. C. 40, we may reasonably suggest the upper and lower limit of his reign between 50 and 30 B. C. Tarn arrives at about the same date from an independent and different nature of evidence. According to him, the accession of Harmaeus was quite certainly not later than 50 B. C. and probably not much earlier and that⁶ Harmaeus' death can not be put much later than 30 B. C.⁶ This being so, a considerable period of time must have elapsed between the death of Harmaeus and the conquest of Kabul valley by Kujūla Kadphises which⁷ in all probability took place after the death of Gondophames in 45 A.D.

¹ Rapson, Indian coins, p. 16; Sten Konal C. I. I. II, p. LXIV.

² C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 562, p. 574; Sten Konow J. I. H., 1933, p. 29

³ J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 194., note 1,

⁴ C. H. I. vol. I, p. 561.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Tarn, G. B. I., pp. 335-345.

⁷ Tarn agree with F. V. Thomas to accept A.D. 50 as the last year of Kujūla's reign. Ib.

Then how to explain the joint-names of the two sovereigns—Harmæus and Kujūla on the same coins? Dr. Raychaudhuri opines that Kujūla 'was an ally of Harmæus with whom he issued joint coins'.¹ But the undoubted disparity of times of the two kings makes it difficult to accept this view. Tarn thinks that they were propaganda coins evidently issued by Kujūla to put up his claim as the successor of the Greeks thrones with whom he was related by blood and who had displaced by the Pahlavas. But the most plans² and all explanation seems to be. What Rapson suggests. He says that the Parthian conquerors of Harmæus continued to issue a coinage bearing his name and types until a much later date in the same way and for the same reason that the East India company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, and that when Kujūla conquered the Kābul province from the Parthians he mechanically copied those coins.³

Result of the Indo-Greek Contact	The occupation of the north-western parts of India by the Greek invaders from Bactria lasted a longer period, a century and a half, than what resulted from Alexander's invasion and conquests which had ended, as we saw, within two years of the great conqueror's death. Yet the political effect of the second occupation is equally small. Culturally, however, some traces of the Greek contact are discernible. First, in the matter of coinage: The ancient punch-marked coins of India were replaced by the Greek rulers by the improved forms of properly shaped and stamped coins which served as models for the later Indian coinages. The Bactrian Greek rulers used legends in their coins, and some of them used even two scripts—Greek and Kharoshāṭhī in the coin inscriptions. The punch-marked coins of India were without any inscriptions—a defect later removed on the model of the Greek coins.
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¹ P. H. A. I 3rd Ed. p. 311.

² He also calls them 'pedigree coins' for the same reason. He says that a Kushān

³ C. H. I. Vol. I pp. 561-62.

SECTION B

THE ŚAKAS

The Scythian [Śaka], the Parthian [Pahlava] and the Bactrian Greek [Yavana] invaders of India have been often mentioned in Sanskrit literature in association with one another under the group name of *Śaka Yavana Pahlava* as foreigners and barbarians. The earliest notice of the Śakas as a people we find in the inscription of Darius¹ (600 B.C.). It refers to three Śaka settlements—(1) Śakā Haumavarkā, (2) Śaka Tigrakhandā, and (3) Śakā Taradarayā. The Śakā Haumavarkā has been identified by F. W. Thomas (J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 186) with the Śaka settlers in the Persian province of Drangiana—the country of the river Helمند—afterwards known as Śakastān in Sanskrit, Sigistān in later Persian and Seistān in English. The Śakā Tigrakhandā, ‘weavers of pointed caps, were, according to Herodotus (VII. 61), included, together with their neighbours, the Bactrians, in the army of Xerxes, the son of Darius, when he invaded Greece. They were, thus, obviously the Śakas who lived in their main homeland in the country of the river Jaxartes (the Syr Daria). Darius claims these Śakas as the fourteenth division of his empire paying him tribute the claim, if it refers to the entire Śaka people of the Jaxartes, is certainly exaggerated. Perhaps there was a small deposit of the Śaka settlement like the one in Drangiana as a result of earlier voluntary movements of the tribe, in the region north of Bactria, which was, included in the sixth Division of the empire of Darius, under the name of Sogdiana; that these Śakas were a war-like people, and a source of trouble to the Acamenid Empire’s eastern frontier is clear from many Greek references. Bactria was the eastern bastion of the empire and served as a barrier against the tribal movements from the north in the time of the Acamenids, as it did later in the time of the Greeks. There is mention in the Greek writings of an

¹ The Cuneiform inscription at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, Persia.

² Ib.

³ C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 338, n. 4

expedition which Darius led against the Śakas, 'apparently north of the region of Bactria'¹ they were evidently the Śakas in or in the neighbourhood of Sogdia (mod. Bukhāra) who later paid tribute to Darius and as Herodotus tells us, were included, together with their neighbours, the Bactrians, in the army of Xerxes. The main body of the Śakas who lived in their homeland, the region of the Jaxartes, were independent of the rule of Darius, and their movement, four centuries later, was one of the largest tribal movements, not voluntary, but forced, due to circumstances beyond their control, which will be described later.

The Śakā Taradaraya were the dwellers near the sea, Dr. Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Śakas with the Śakadvīpa. But it is doubtful that there was a Śaka settlement in the Indus Delta as early as the time of Darius in the sixth century B.C. Śakadvīpa owes its name to the Śaka settlement in the Indus Delta as a result of the later mass migration at the close of the second century B.C., as will be shown later. These Śakas were probably dwellers near the coasts of either the Caspian Sea or the Black Sea.²

These three Śaka settlements were no doubt deposits left by the waves of an earlier and probably voluntary migrations which may be traced back in history 'to about the middle of the eighth century B.C.'³ No doubt the largest deposit was in the region of the Jaxartes which was their home-land when their forced migration took place in the second century B.C. for this episode of their history we are indebted to the Chinese historians. This forced movement of the Śakas was the result of the other tribal movements from China which were destined to overwhelm the Greek rule and civilisation from the Oxus to the Indus and determine the history of northern and western India for several centuries.

According to the Chinese historians, a people known to them as Yueh-chi lived in the neck of the country between the Great

¹ C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 338, p. 4.

² Prof. Rapson (C. H. I. Vol. I, n. 565) suggests the steppes of Russia to the north of the Black Sea.

³ C. H. I Vol I. A.

wall and the mountains which forms part of the province of Kan-su. About 165 B.C. the restless, terrible Huns, against whose in roads the Chinese emperors had built the great wall, attacked the Yueh-chi and drove them from their homeland. The latter began a west-ward migration which brought them into conflict with other tribes. One of these tribes was called the Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were defeated and their king slain. Having continued their journey, the Yueh-chi reached the region of the Issyk-kul lake. Here a division of the tribe took place. A small band, parted from the main group, took a southerly route and settled on the borders of Tibet. They were later known as the Little Yueh-chi. The main group, called the Great Yueh-chi, continued their movement to the west until they came into contact with the Śakas of the Jaxartes. In the conflict which followed, the latter were worsted. The Yueh-chis took possession of the land of the Śakas and the Śakas, moved south-west across the Jaxartes and occupied the land of the Tahia or Bactria in the region of the Oxus. The Greeks, who were then in possession of Bactria being weakened by internicine quarrels, could not offer any effective resistance to the Śaka hordes.

The Śakas were not destined to live long in peace in Bactria. They were again disturbed by their old enemy, the Yueh-chis. The incident which led to this second attack of the Śakas in their new homeland was this: The infant son of the Wu-sun king, who had been killed by the Yueh-chis, was adopted by the Huns. Having reached manhood he became king of the Wu-sun with the help of his patrons, the Huns, he attacked the Yueh-chi and drove them into the land of the Oxus. Naturally, the latter came into conflict a second time with the Śakas in Bactria, and drove them from that country. This event must have taken place after 125 B. C. when Chang-kien the envoy of the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (140-88 B. C.) visited the Yueh-chi and found them still in the territories to the north of the Oxus from which they had first expelled the Śakas.¹

¹ J. R. A. S. 1903.

According to the *Annals of the first Han Dynasty*, the King of the Saï (the Śakas) became lord of Kipin¹. Kipin has been identified in the Kapiśa, modern Kafirstān. It lies north of the Kābul valley and south of the Hindukush. It appears that a small body of the Śakas accompanied their king to Kipin which they wrested from the Greeks, who, however, were able to maintain their independence in the Kābul province till the beginning of the first century A. D. Therefore, the main body of the Śakas bypassed Kābul and moved westward in the Direction of Herat (Aria) which was the eastern bastion of the then Parthian empire. Fortunately for Parthia, it was at that time ruled by a very powerful king, Mithradates II The Great (123-88 B. C.). He was able to stop the Śakas from further advance into the west. Parthia now took up the place of Bactria as the barrier against the western migrations of the Śakas. If Mithradates II had not effectively checked the westward course of the Śaka movement, India would perhaps have been spared the impact of the Śaka invasion which profoundly influenced its history for a considerable time. Checked in Aria (Herat). The course of the Śaka migration took the southern route towards Drangiana (Seistān) in the lower Helmand region, north of Gedrosia (Biluchistān). From there the route of march took a slightly westward course along the bank of the Helmand and proceeding across Baluchistān and the Brāhui mountain, entered through the Bolān or the Mūla Pass, the country of the lower Indus which was called in Sanskrit literature Śakadvīpa, and by Roman historians Indo-scythia. The Śakadvīpa (Indus Delta) was a convenient jumping-off ground for the Śakas for further penetration into India. The Indus river served as the high road for such an advance.

Maues is the first Śaka king of India known to us from coins and inscriptions. His invasion of the upper Indus region probably took place after Mithradates II's reign ended in 88 B. C. and when Parthia ceased to have any effective control over Seistān and Kandahar. At the time of his invasion the house of Eukra-

¹ Ib. 2. C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 566. Also cf. Sten Konow, ep. Ind. XIV. p. 291.

tides was ruling the western Punjab, and the successors of Menander of the house of Euthydemus were in possession of the eastern Punjab. Some of his coin types which were struck in imitation of the Yavana kings ruling in Gandhāra, e. g., the types 'Elephant : Indian Bull, the city of Pushkalāvati' show that Maues conquered Gandhāra—Pushkalāvati to the west of the Indus. The Taxila copper-plate inscription of Satrap Patika proves his conquest of Takshasila east of the Indus. It is from the merit of Taxila that he must have begun striking his coins. His bilingual coins bear on the obverse the legend 'Of Maues, the Great King of Kings', and on the reverse in Kharoshṭhī '*Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Moasa.*' This title which is an imitation of the Parthian style, indicates his independent sovereign position, free from all allegiance to Parthia. As a matter of fact, the power of Parthia had declined so much after the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C., that this title remained in abeyance in Parthia itself from 88 to 57 B.C.¹ During this interval the Pahlava (the Indo-Parthian) governors of eastern Irān, Vonanes and his family, and the Śaka conquerors of N. W. India, Maues and his successors, assumed this title.

Among the coins of Maues are also found the type 'Apollo: Tripod'. This type, first used by Apollodotus I was later used by Strato I,² (son of Menander) who ruled the eastern Punjab. It is not, however, clear whether Maues used this type as a result of his conquest of some territories of the Eastern Punjab or in imitation of this type of coins which may have been in circulation in the Western Punjab as a result of Trade. For all that we know for certain is that it is Azes I the successor of Maues, who destroyed the Yavana power in the Eastern Punjab. *His Route of Indian Conquest:* As already indicated (above), the Śakas conquered the Western Punjab and Gandhāra from their base Indo-Scythia (Śakadvīpa), having used the river Indus as a high road of advance. Their leader was presumably

¹ C. H. I. vol. I. p. 569. Also cf. Droth. B.M. Cat. *Parthia*, p. XXV. note.

² C.H.I. Vol. I, *Numismatic Summary*, p. 586.

Maues who figures as the first Śaka king of India. The Indus route of the Śaka advance had long been held by Cunningham and later by Dr. F. W. Thomas¹. Dr. Raychaudhuri seems to reject this route and argues for a direct route from Kipin to Gandhāra.² But that was impossible in view of the fact that the Yavana princes of the house of Eukratides held possession of the Kābul valley, through which the well-known ancient route from Kipin (Kapiśa below the Hindukush) to Kābul, and through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar (Western Gāndhāra). As has been shown above the Yavana power in the Kābul valley maintained their independence for a considerable time after the Yavana dominions of N. W. India on the eastern side of the Khyber Pass, that is to say, Peshāwar and Taxila, had been conquered by the Śakas.

Another view is that the Chinese historians meant by Kipin not Kābul Kapiśa but Kaśmīra, Levi and Chavannes were the first to propose this theory³ which was, however, ably refuted by Sten Konow⁴. The latest exponent of this Kipin-Kaśmīra identification theory is Dr. P. C. Bagchi.⁵ He supports Levi and Chavannes to say that in a number of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts the translators used Kipin for translating the name of Kaśmīra upto 581 A.D. Since 581 A.D. the Chinese documents began to use Kipin to denote Kapiśa⁶. The route to Kipin (Kaśmīra) which the Śaka king followed from Tahia, says Dr. Bagchi, was, according to the Chinese accounts, 'the *Hien-tu* or the hanging passage, which was recognised by Chavannes and Sir Amel Stein as Bolar route through the Yasin valley'⁷.

¹ J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 216.

² P.H.A.I. 3rd Ed. p. 295 f.

³ Cf. Sylvain Levi, *Notes on the Indo-Scythians*. Ind. Ant. 1903, 1904; J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 1057, n. 1.

⁴ Ep. Ind. XIV, p. 291.

⁵ Read his Presidential Address of Section I, Indian History Congress Proceedings.

⁶ Ib. p. 34.

⁷ Ib. p. 33.

He further says that the route was not impracticable in the end of the fourth century A.D., when the first Chinese pilgrim Fahien and his associates came to India¹.

J. Kennedy, in his note on 'The Later Kushans' (J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 1058, *n.*) has pointed out that Dr. Herrmann holds that by Kipin was meant Gandhāra. This shows that even among the scholars there was no unanimity of opinion as to its location in the Pre-Christian or early Christian eras. Tarn's identification of Kipin with Kophen (Kābul) is equally to be rejected. While, therefore, there is considerable force in the argument of Dr. Bagchi for his theory, we would hesitate to accept it as an absolute certainty, especially in view of the opinion of the scholars that the *Hientu* or the rope bridge, though food for individuals, was impassable for an army. Sten Konow has shown that 'after the Śakas, Kaśmīra became part of the Kushan empire, so the identification of Kipin and Kaśmīra in some Chinese sources does not prove much'².

Tarn finds numismatic evidence of a great naval victory achieved by Maues over the Greeks. He says, "Maues' fleet defeated a Greek fleet on the Indus which gave him control of the river, and opened the way to Taxila. This victory must have been decisive event, as it is the event which Maues celebrated on his coins³ shows Poseidon with his trident—The usual symbolism of a naval victory, trampling on a river-god. On another,⁴ Poseidon tramples on the river-god and hurls his thunder-bolt at a small figure, 'clinging to a stern erection of a sinking galley.'⁵ If Tarn is right, this piece of numismatic evidence definitely determines Maues' route to his Indian conquest which was along the Indus, and not by any other route.

¹ Ib. p. 34.

² Ep. Ind. XIV.

³ B. M. C. p. 70, no. 15;

⁴ Ib. p. 71, no. 17.

⁵ Tam. G.B.I. p. 134.

With the evidences available to us it is difficult to determine with certainty the date of Maues. As we have shown above his invasion of India probably, and his assumption of the imperial title certainly, may be assumed to have taken place sometime after 88 B.C. The only dated inscription of his reign is the 'Taxila copper-plate' of his Sātrap Patika, of the year 78. But the date, being of an unspecified era, provides but an uncertain clue to his reign-period. The year cannot belong to the Śaka era as some scholars suggest. In that case the date of Maues is brought down to the second century A.D. This is an untenable position, because we find no evidence of the existence of Śaka rule in Gandhāra in the second century A.D., which was, no doubt, included at that time in the dominion of the Kushānas. According to the testimony of Ptolemy who flourished about that time, Indo-Scythian territories were limited to the lower Indus region and Kathiāwār². That Ptolemy was right is clear from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72 (= A.D. 150) which proves the existence of Śaka rule in the regions indicated above. Ptolemy mentions neither Mathurā nor Taxila among the Śaka dominions. Mathurā, he says, belonged to Kasperaioi (Gandhāra-Kaśmīra region) and it is well known that these three countries, Mathurā, Gandhāra (including Taxila) and Kasmīra were included in the Kushān empire after Kanishka.

According to others, the year belongs to the Vikrama era, and thus Maues' reign period would fall around (78—58) 20 A.D. But this date is inconsistent with the definitely known chronology of Gondopharnes who reigned, according to the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, from 19 to 45 A.D. and who, as his coins show³,

¹ *Corps Ins. Ind.* II, i, p. 28.

² Patalene (Indus Delta), Abhira and Syrastrène (Kathiāwār). See *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 348—54.

³ On the coins of both Azes II and Gondopharnes appears the name of Aspavarman who served as Strategus under both monarchs. Cf. Whitehead, *cert. of coins in the Lahore Museum*, p. 150.

ruled over the Śaka dominions of N. W. India after Azes II, the third Śaka king after Maues.

Prof. Rapson thinks that the era is probably of Parthian origin, beginning from c. 150 B.C., when Mithradates I incorporated Seistān (Śakasthāna) into the Parthian empire, and that therefore the year 78 is equivalent to (150—78) 72 B.C.¹ In that case it becomes difficult to accept the synchronism of Patika with both Maues and Soḍāsa who was a Mahākshtrapa of Mathurā in 14 A.D. This difficulty may, however, be met if we accept the suggestion of Dr. Fleet² that the Patika of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions³ is different from the Patika of the Taxila plate. Whatever the era or its origin, the acceptance of the year 72 B.C. as the date of the Taxila copper plate falling within the reign of Maues does not involve any chronological impossibilities, if we take into account the following considerations. We have seen that Maues must have assumed his imperial title after 88 B.C. which may be taken as the upper limit of his reign period, while according to the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136,⁴ the year 1 of the reign of his successor Azes I is 58 B.C. (see below). Therefore the year 58 B.C. may be assumed the time limit of Maues' reign.

According to numismatists Maues was followed by Azes I. He continued to issue the coin types of Maues, and also struck a number of additional types in imitation of the yavana princes whom he conquered. One of these types is 'Athene Promachos' which is characteristic of the families of Apollodotus & Menander in the eastern Punjab. This type, which appears on the coins of Azes I, does not appear on those of Maues. This is very significant. It proves that the yavana power in the eastern Punjab was finally destroyed by Azes I.


The Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 of Ayasa identified by Sir John Marshall as, Azes I, provides a clue to the

¹ C.H.I. Vol. I, p. 570.

² J.R.A.S. 1913, 1001 n.

³ Ep. Ind. IX, pp. 243-44.

⁴ Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 295.

king's date. The inscription belongs to the time of Kushana king. The date counted in the well-known era which begins from 58 B.C. to which it undoubtedly belongs would be equivalent to 77-78 A.D., which was evidently the last year in the reign of Vima Kadphises. Rapson feels inclined to credit Azes as the founder of the era,¹ whereas the strong Indian traditional belief is that the era was founded by King Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate his victory over the Śakas and is therefore known as the Vikrama era. Whatever may have been the origin of this era, the assignment of the year Azes I's reign to B.C. 58 does not raise any chronological difficulties. It is consistent with the date of his immediate predecessor Maues (c. 72 B.C.) and his second successor to the throne Azes II whose reign must have ended in 19 A.D. when Gondopharis began his reign. Therefore Azes I's reign must have covered a considerable portion of the second half of the first century B.C. This date finds an unexpected support from a piece of interesting numismatic evidence brought to our notice by Prof. Rapson². He has pointed out on the evidence drawn from the epigraphy of the Greek coin-legends that on the earlier coins of the Yavanas and those of the first Śaka king, Maues, the round form of the Greek *Omicron* only is found. On some of the later Yavana coins, e.g. those of Hippostratus, and on the Coins of Azes I, the square form  makes its appearance side by side with the round form. The same change took place during the reign of Orodes I (57-38 B.C.)³. That at this period there was constant communication between Parthia and India there can be no doubt. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this epigraphical change is due to a fashion which spread from one country to the other and that the occurrence of the square *omicron* on a Parthian or Indian Coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than 40 B.C. Judged by this test, the Yavana king must have survived Maues, and that he must have been contemporary with the successor of Maues, Azes

¹ C.H.I. vol. I, p. 581.

² C.H.I. Vol. I pp. 571—72.

³ cf. B.M. Cat., Parthia, p. 73.

I. So if Hippostratus used this square *omicron* type not earlier than 40 B. C., the date of Azes I who replaced him in the eastern Punjab and restruck his coins, including the square *omicron* types, must be about that time, and that his reign in the eastern Punjab continued, at any rate, from or slightly after from 40 B.C.

The coins of Azes I further show that he had as his subordinate colleague Azilises whose name appears in Kharoshthi on the reverse, while his own name appears on the obverse in Greek. Again, on other coins the same two names appear, but with a change of position the first and the most important position the obverse being given to Azilises with a Greek legend, while Azes is found on the reverse with a Kharoshthi legend.¹ This shows that *Azilises* who was a Junior colleague with Azes I, became king after the latter's death and was associated with another Azes as his Junior colleague who later succeeded him to the throne as *Azes II*. Dr. V. Smith who postulates this view of succession assigns to Azes II the coins which have been found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I.² Marshall accepts the view. The diversity of style found on the coins bearing the name Azes lends additional evidence to the view that there were two kings bearing the same name Azes. Azes II was evidently the last Śaka king whose immediate successor in India, as the coin show was the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares.

RUDRADMAN'S SILVER COINS

Reverse

Symbol—three arches, representing a hill, crescent to the left; star to right; border of dots. Inscription in Brāhmicharacters. The language is prakrit, influenced by sanskrit. राजक्षत्रपसजयदामस-पुत्रस (Rapson cat. p. 79 No. 276 ff.) राज महाक्षत्रपसरुद्रदामस

Obv.

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek character. From this time onward the inscription in Greek characters.

¹ B.M. Cat. p. 92, pl. XX.3.

² JRAS 1914, p. 979.

ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a new ornament. In imitation of the coins of the Greek predecessors the Śaka-Parthians and Kushāṇas used greek legends on their coins.

Jivadāman Silver coin. महाक्षत्रपसनीविदामस-
Śaka year 120—198 A.D.

THE ŚAKA SATRAPAL HOUSES

The Indian governors of the Śaka kings were called Kshtrapas. The term is perhaps borrowed from the old Persian title of *Kshathrapāvan* [a Provincial Governor], and indicates the former Śaka-Parthian relation. On account of the similarity of their names and their systems of Satrapal government, the two peoples, Śakas and Pahlavas, have been associated in Indian literatures and inscriptions either as one or as similar ethnic groups. Intermarriages between the two peoples resulted in some of the family names being common to both. In fact, Dr. V. Smith regarded Maues as a Parthian king [E.H.I., 4th Ed. p. 242]. Prof. Rapson, therefore, rightly remarks that to label Maues and his successors as Śakas is little more than a convenient nomenclature [C.H.I., I, p. 568]. But there is no doubt that the Śakas were a different people from the Parthians, although some of their family names and their Satrapal system of government have a Parthian origin. The Satrapal system has another peculiarity. There were always two Satraps in each province—a senior Satrap [Mahākshatrapa] and a junior one [Kshatrapa], usually a son and heir of the former. The relation between the two was something like that between The Rājan and the Yuvarāja at the same time from the same station or from different stations of the same viceroyalty. There were several such Śaka Satrapal houses in different parts of India and may be conveniently grouped under two main classes.

[I] *The Northern Satraps of Taxila and Mathura and*

[II] *The Western Satraps of Maharashtra and Ujjain.*

I. THE SATRAPS OF TAXILA

The earliest known recorded Śaka Kashatrapa is *Liaka Kusulaka*. The Taxila Plate records that he was a Satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa, Chhahara has not yet been identified, but

Chukhsa has been identified with modern Chach, N. W. of Taxila [S.I., p. 120 n.]. The two districts were presumably adjacent and located in the neighbourhood of Taxila. His coins were imitated from those of Eukratides. The Taxila Copper plate [Ep. Ind., IV, p. 55f.] describes Liaka Kusūlaka as a Kshatrapa and records that his son Patika, who bears no title, made a deposit of the relics of the Buddha which is commemorated by the inscription. It is not clear whether Patika acted as his father's colleague as a joint Kshatrapa, for he bore no title¹ at that time, nor his father Liaka was called a Mahākshatrapa. *A Patika appears* first as a Kshatrapa and then as a Mahākshatrapa in the Mathura Lion-Capital inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa [Ep. Ind., IX, p. 141 ff.]. No coins have, however, been discovered belonging to Liaka or the Mahākshatrapa Patika.

2. SATRAPS OF MATHURA

A number of coins and inscriptions throw light on the history of the Śaka Satrapy of Mathurā. The earliest Śaka Satraps of Mathurā were Hagāmasha and Hagāna known from their coins. Some coins show that Hagāmasha ruled alone, others show that Hagāna ruled conjointly with Hagāmasha. According to Dr. V. Smith² Rājula [Rañjuvula], succeeded them. Rañjuvula is known both from coins and inscriptions. His coins found in the eastern Punjab and Mathurā describe him as [*Apratibata chakra kshatrapa*]. In others, he is described as a [Mahākshatrapa].³ The Mora [near Mathurā] Inscription also calls him a Mahākshatrapa. This shows that he ruled first as a Kshatrapa and afterwards as Mahākshatrapa. That he ruled as an independent or semi-independent power can be presumed from his titles and coinages. He was associated with his son Śoḍāsa [Sudāsa] as a Kshatrapa, who afterwards succeeded him as a Mahakshatrapa. The Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription [Ep., Ind., IX, p. 141 ff.] calls Śoḍāsa, a

¹ He, however, bears an appellation of Mahādānavīra, whatever it means.

² EHI, 3rd ed. p. 227.

³ B.M. Cat. of coins, p. 67.

crown-prince' [Yuvarāja] in one place, and a Kshatrapa and the son of the Mahākshatrapa Rājula [Rañjuvula] in another. The Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Soḍāsa describes him as a Mahākshatrapa. This inscription is dated in the year 72 of an unspecified era which has been accepted by most scholars as the Vikrama era.¹ Consequently the fact that Soḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in 14 A.D. shows that his father Rañjuvula must have died on or before that date. Patika who issued the Taxila Plate Inscription does not indicate his official position if he had any, but calls himself the son of the Kshatrap Liaka. But in the Lion-Pillar Capital Inscriptions, a Patika has been called the son of Kusūlaka, Mahākshatrapa of Taxila, when Rañjuvula was the Mahākshatrapa of Mathurā, and his son, Śoḍāsa, was a Yuvarāja and a Kshatrapa.

3. THE KSHAHARATA ŚAKA-SATRAPS OF MAHARASHTRA

The Kshaharāta Śaka Satraps of Mahārāshṭra, and the Great Satrapa [Mahākshatrapas] of Ujjain are two Śaka Settlements of Western India. The earliest known member of the Kshaharāta family is *Bhūmaka*. Numerous coins of Bhūmaka have been found. By examining them and those of Nahapāna, the most well-known Kshaharāta ruler, Prof. Rapson concludes that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna. He says that the obverse type of Bhūmaka's coins has been used by Nahapāna as the reverse type. This re-arrangement of the type, the fabric and the nature of the coin legends leave no room, according to Rapson, for doubting that Nahapāna was the immediate successor of Bhūmaka.² There is, however, no evidence of their relationship nor any date, found on their coins.

¹ For the reading of the date and the specification of the era see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f.; XI, p. 260 f.; Ep. Ind, XIV, pp. 139-141.

² Catalogue of Andhra Coins, p. 87.

Nahapāna is known both from coins and inscriptions. He appears to be the first Kshaharāta Kshatrapa to conquer Mahārāshṭra from the early Andhra rulers of that country. The provenance of the coins of *Nahapana* Bhūmaka shows that his rule was confined to Broach, Kathiāwār, Ajmer and Pushkara. In none of the inscriptions of Pāṇḍulena [Nāsik] the name Bhūmaka is found. *Nahapāna*'s silver coins have been found in plenty in Mahārāshṭra and his name and that of his son-in-law Ushavadāta [Rishabhadata] in several Cave inscriptions in Nāsik. It is, therefore, clear that *Nahapāna* is the first Kshaharāta to extend the Śaka rule in Mahārāshṭra. The Nāsik Cave Inscription of *Nahapāna* dated years 41, 42, 45 [Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 82 ff] gives us an indication of the date of *Nahapāna*'s rule in Mahārāshṭra. The years have been accepted by most scholars to belong to the Śaka era which begins from 78 A.D.¹ So, the earliest recorded date of *Nahapāna*'s rule in Mahārāshṭra is 119 A.D. the latest recorded date of *Nahapāna* is the year 46 as found also in the Junār Cave Inscription of his time [Arch. Surv. W. In IV, p. 103]. Therefore his rule possibly ended in 124 A.D. The abrupt ending of his rule after such a short period of six years may be explained by the fact that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, a scion of the Andhra ruling dynasty now residing further south, was powerful enough to recover the lost glory of his house and drove the Kshaharātas from his homeland [*Supra*, p. 175].

Nahapāna's rule in Mahārāshṭra, though short in years, was full of events, as the epigraphic records of his time prove. It was full of wars, expeditions and charitable benefactions. In these his son-in-law *Ushavadāta* was closely associated with him as his right-hand man. *Ushavadāta* was the son of the Śaka Dīnika and the husband of *Nahapāna*'s daughter Dakshamitrā. The provenance of *Nahapāna*'s inscriptions and their records tell that he not only ruled almost the whole of Mahārāshṭra which he conquered from the Sātavāhanas, but his rule extended from Mahārāshṭra to Kāthiāwār, Broach, Sopāra [Bombay], Daśapura

¹ S. I. n. i, p. 167s PHAI, 3rd, ed. pp. 331-335.

[Western Mālwa] and Ajmer including Pushkara [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 78 f.] Nahapāna's coins have been found in Ajmer and Pushkara. The Nāsik Inscription records that at the order of his master, Nahapāna Ushavadāta rescued the Uttamabhadras from the attack of the Mālavas and then proceeded to Pushkara *Tīrtha* where he bathed and made large gifts of cows and gold to Brāhmans [Ib] Several other *tīrthas* have been mentioned in the same epigraph and in the Carle Cave Inscription [Ep. Ind. VII, p. 57 f.] such as prabhāsa, Bhṛigukachchha Śūrpāraka Daśapura, Gandhāra, which Ushavadāta visited and where he fed thousands of Brāhmans and gave them large gifts in gold and thousands of cows. His wife Dakshamitrā is also recorded to have made a gift of a cave dwelling to acquire religious merit [Ep. Ind. VII, p. 81]. All this go to prove that Ushavadāta and his wife became completely Hinduised.

A large number of silver coins of Nahapāna found in the Jogalthambī hoard [near Nāsik] show that they were restruck by Gautamīputra. None of the coins found there bears the name of Ushavadāta. This shows that Gautmīputra defeated Nahapāna himself, or immediately after his death Ushavadāta, who consequently had no chance to succeed his father-in-law as the ruler of Mahārāshṭra. Ushavadāta, however, filled a large space in the government of Nahapāna. He was undoubtedly the latter's commander-in-chief excelling in many military exploits. He performed on behalf of the government many acts of public utility and charity, such as freeing the people from ferry tolls, constructing ghats for ferry-boats, constructing cave dwellings for Buddhist monks and distributing large charities to Brahman and Buddhists alike.

4. THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF UJJAIN

[THE HOUSE OF CHASHATANA]

The earliest member of this house was Yaśamatika, whose son *Chashṭana* is known as the first Śaka ruler of Ujjain. According to Prof. Dubreuil [Anct. Hist. Dec., p. 36] Chashṭana started his rule in 78 A.D. and founded the Śaka era. But this is doubtful

in view of the fact that the earliest known date of Chashtana is the year 52 which is accepted by all scholars as belonging to the Śaka era and therefore equivalent to 130 A.D. It is unthinkable that he should have been great enough to found an era and we should have no records of his activity for 52 years. Dr. Rāychaudhuri cites the opinion of Profs. Rapson and Bhandarkar that he was a viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushānas. The beginning of the Śaka era is associated, according to most scholars, with the accession of Kanishka to the Kushāna throne in 78 A.D.

From the Andau [Cutch] Inscription of the time of Chashtana and Rudradāman [S.E. 52] we gather that in A.D. 130 Chashtana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Rudradāman's father is Jayadāman without any title in this epigraph. This shows that Jayadāman must have been dead in the year 130 A.D. When his father Chashtana was alive, and his son Rudradāman was appointed heir-apparent and joint ruler as a Kshatrapa, according to the Śaka custom, by his grand-father Chashtana who had probably assumed at that stage the position of a Mahākshatrapa.

Rudradāman, the grandson and successor of Chashtana, was the most outstanding Śaka Satrap of Ujjain. His Junāgaḍ Rock Inscription [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 42 ff.] gives details of his life and work. The inscription is dated 72 [S.E.] which enables us to fix his reign period around 130 A.D. The epigraph states that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa [*Svaymadbhigata-Mahākshatrapa-nāmnā*]. This shows that the fortunes of his house had undergone a temporary set back which he afterwards recovered to enable him to assume the title Mahākshatrapa. A subsequent passage [L. 12] refers to his war with Śātakarṇi, the Lord of the South, whom he twice defeated and then won as his son-in-law. The Śātakarṇi of the inscription is the Sātavāhana king. Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi. It is probable that the power of the Śakas of Ujjain was shaken at the close of Chashtana's

Wars and conquest.

¹ PHAI, 3rd. ed., p. 344.

reign or after his death by the growing of the Sātavāhanas under the leadership of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and his son Śrī Puṣumāvī, and that Rudradāman had to fight hard with the Sātavāhanas whom he ultimately defeated and recovered the sovereignty of his house. The same line also refers to his fight with the proud and valiant *Yaudheyas* whom he defeated. The *Yaudheyas* are referred to in the Pāṇini as a people belonging to the armed profession [Āyudhajīvi]. They were a republican people living in the Eastern Punjab where a large number of coins and inscriptions bearing their tribal names have been found. A number of clay seals and votive tablets of the *Yaudheyas* have been found in the Ludhiana district [Proc. A.S.B., 1884, pp. 138-40]. These are assigned to the third century A.D. Samudragupta refers to them as one of the tribes whom he conquered. Thus it is clear that they continued to live as an independent republican tribe up to the fourth century A.D. That they were a republican and a war-like people is proved by their coin-legends. A type of their coins bears the legend. '*Yaudheya gana sthiti.*' In another type there is the representation of the god Kārtikeya, the presiding deity of war and liberty.¹ Rudradāman calls them a brave race [vīra-sabda yāti]. This praise coming from an enemy lends weight to the claim to greatness by the *Yaudheyas* themselves.

The extent of Rudradāman's territory is clearly indicated in the epigraph. It included Akara [East Malwa, Extent of Territory. cap. Vidisā], Avanti [West Malwā, cap. Ujjain],—Anūpa, cap. Māhishmatī [Mod. Māndhātā? Nimar district], Ānarta [North Kāthiāwār]; Surāshṭra [South Kāthiāwār]; Svabhra [the region on the Sābar-matī]; Maru [a region in the Rājputānā Desert, probably Mārwar]; Kaccha [Cutch]; Sindhu [that portion of modern Sind which lay west of the Lower Indus]; Sauvīra [east of the Lower Indus]; Kukura [in the North Kāthiāwār near Anarta]; Aparānta [North Konkan, Cap. Surpāraka]; Nishāda [W. Vindhya and Aravelly]. We have seen [*Supra*] that Surāshṭra Kukura and Aparānta were

¹ Smith. C.C.I.M. Vol. I pp. 181-82.

parts of Gautamīputra's dominions. It is clear that those places were conquered by Rudradāman either from Gautamīputra or his son Śrī Puṣumāvi.

The famous Sudarśana lake which existed in his province of Surāshṭra and had been serving the purpose of irrigation since the time of Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka burst its banks.

Repair of the Sudarsana Lake : a work of great public utility.

Rudradāman had a new dam constructed through his Pahlava Governor Suviśākha who was in charge of the provinces of Anarta and Surāshṭra

The banks had burst twice before in the time of Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka, both of whom repaired them through their governors of Surāshṭra. Rudradāman bore the expenses of the construction out of his own privy-purse [*Svasmātkoṣāt*] because the council of ministers thinking the task impossible refused to sanction the money from the public treasury [*Vimukṣa-matibhiḥ pratyīkhyātārambham*]. This throws an interesting light on the constitutional position of the King *vis-a-vis* his ministers and the revenues of the State. It appears that Rudradāman behaved like a strictly constitutional ruler. The democratic spirit of the Mahākshatrapa is further proved when he is described in the epigraph that he was 'chosen as protector' [*pativṛtā*] by all castes [*Sarvavarṇaiḥ*].

The Junāgaḍ Inscription throws light on some of the personal qualities of the great Kshatrapa. We have seen above his kind solicitation for his subjects, so much so, that he bore the entire expenses of the construction of the damaged

Personal Qualities and the Character of Administration.

dam of the Sudarśana lake out of his own treasury when his council of ministers refused the grant. The dam, if left unrepaired, would seriously affect the agriculture of the entire province. He would not even impose on his subjects a special tax [*Kara*], forced labour [*Viśhṭi*], benevolences [*Pranaya*] for the purpose. He carried on his government with the advice and consent of the council of ministers [*Sachivaiḥ*] possessed of requisite qualifications [*Amātya-guṇa-samudyuktaiḥ*]. Before assuming regnal authority, he had undergone the necessary training in education and became learned in grammar [*śabda*], polity, including

finance [*Artha*], music [*Gandharva vidyā*], logic [*Nyāya*], etc. A true test of his character and the civilised nature of his government is provided by another passage of the epigraph which states that he took a vow and kept to the end of his life that he would not kill men except in battle [*Samgrāmeshu anyatra Ib.*]. He had two classes of ministers—Matisachivas [Councillors] and Karma-Sachivas [Executive officers]. The financial grant for the repair of the Sudarśana was refused by the Matisachivas whose advice he felt bound to accept [*Ib.*].

RUDRADĀMAN'S SUCCESSORS

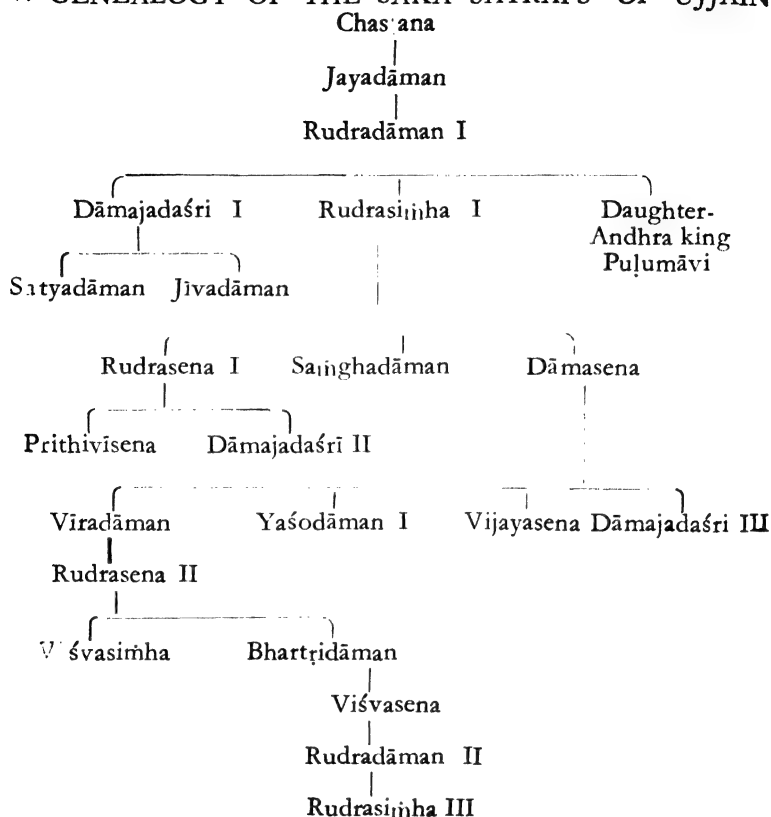
The successors of Rudradāman are mere nonentities. A large number of coins bearing their names and a few inscriptions of their time have been found. None of the latter, however, records any great achievement to their credit, except providing a genealogy. We state below the names of some of them found both on coins and inscriptions. The son and successor of Rudradāman was Dāmajada or Damajadasarī. Damjada had a son Jivadāman whose name appears on his silver coins bearing the date 198 A. D. But the immediate successor of Dāmajada was his brother *Rudrasimha I.* The Gundā [Kaṭthiāwār] Stone inscription of his time [Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 235] recording the gift of a tank by his Abhīra General Rudrabhūti, son of General Bāpaka, is dated in 181 A. D. This shows that Rudrasimha reigned before Jivadāman and confirms Prof. Rapson's view that after Dāmajada's death there was a civil war between the uncle and the nephew in which the former came out victorious.¹ Dr. Raychaudhuri [PHAI, 3rd. ed. p. 347] states that Rudrasimha was followed by his son Rudrasena I. But it appears certain that Jivadāman reigned after Rudrasimha, before the accession of Rudrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha. The silver coins of Jivadāman bear the date of 198 A.D. and the legends in them state they were issued by the Mahākshatrapa Jivadāman, the son of the

¹ Rapson, Cat. Coins of Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.

Mahākshatrapa Dāmajada [Rapson, Catalogue, p. 83 ff; No. 291], while the earliest recorded date of Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha is 205 A.D. as found in the Garhā [Kāthiāwār] Stone Inscription [Ep. Ind. XVI p. 238]. Rapson states that "with the reign of Jivadāman, son of Dāmajadaśri I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jivadāman there are also dated coins of potin." [Loc. cit., p. CXIV]. Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasimha I, was the third Śaka Satrap of Ujjain after Rudradāman. This reign period is, as we have seen, A.D. 205. The names of his successors found on coins may be passed over as of little importance until we come to the last Śaka Satrap of Ujjain—*Rudra-Simha* III who is perhaps to be identified with the Śaka ruler described in the *Harshacharita* as a man addicted to women and killed by Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. That Rudrasimha reigned at least up to 388 A.D. is clear from a date found on his silver coins.² The rule of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain thus lasted for nearly 250 years.

(On the basis of coins and inscriptions a genealogy of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain may be drawn. It is clear as far as Bhartridāman-Viśvasena. It is not definite that Viśvasena ever became a Mahākshatrapa, nor is the relation of Viśvasena with his predecessors or successors clear. The last known ruler of the dynasty is Rudrasimha III).

A. GENEALOGY OF THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF UJJAIN



[SEC. C]

THE PAHLAVAS ([THE INDO-PARTHIANS])

The earliest known Pahlava or Indo-Parthian prince is *Vonones*. His coins show that he was reigning as suzerain over the kingdom of Eastern Irān with the title 'Great King of Kings', and that he was associated with his brothers Spalirises and Spalahores and his nephew, Spalagadames, who perhaps acted as his viceroy in the conquered regions. Vonones was succeeded by *Spalirises* who also bore the title of Great King of Kings.

Aspavarman who was a general governor of Azes II, appears also on the coins of Gondopharnes. The great and the most well-known Indo-Parthian king is Gondopharnes. In the dated Takht-i-Bāhī Inscription of his time [Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 282] we get a clue to his dates and the region he ruled in India. Takht-i-Bāhī is within Peshāwar district and the date given is the year 103 of an unspecified era. Dr. Fleet definitely holds that the year belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama-era, and as such the record was made in 45 A.D. and since it was made in the '26th year of his reign', Gondopharnes reigned at least from 19 to 45 A.D. Dr. V. Smith [E.H.I., 4th Ed., pp. 245-250] refers to a Christian legend in which Gondopharnes is stated to be the 'King of India', whose court the Apostle St. Thomas visited and met with success in his missionary labours. The Christian tradition which makes Gondopharnes a contemporary of St. Thomas fits in with the date given in the Takht-i-Bāhī record. Coins show that his immediate predecessor on the throne was Azes II for the same *strategos* Aspavarman, son of Indravarman, served both the monarchs in succession¹.

After the death of the great Pahlava Sovereign his empire was broken up. Names of some members of his family are found on coins, e.g., *Pakores* who ruled eastern Irān and N. W. India, the latter through his *strategos*, *Sasas*² and *Sanabares* who ruled Seistān. The family was finally supplanted by the Kushānas.

According to the annals of the later Han Dynasty the Yueh-chi, who drove the Śakas from Bactria, were divided into five tribes, each Governed by a chief the *Yavuga* Kadphises I. of the coins. More than a hundred years after their settlement in Bactria,³ the chief of one of these tribes, the Kueishuang, i.e., the Kushānas, conquered the other four tribes and founded a united kingdom which he named after his own tribe. The Kushāna chief, named in the Annals as K'ieu-tsieu-K'io has been identified as *Kujūla Kadphises*,

¹ CHI vol. I *Numismatic summary* pp. 590, 592.

² *Arch. suru of Ind., Annual Report*, 1912-13.

³ At a date near about 25 A.D. according to Dr. Franke, See CHI vol. I, p. 583 and note ¹.

the first Kushāṇa monarch who extended his rule to the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. His conquests included the Kingdom of Kabul as far south as Arachosia (Kandahar), and were made at the expense of the Pahlava suzerain, who was very probably Paeores, the successor of Gondopharnes. He found in this regions a large number of coins of the name and type of Harmaeus in circulation, evidently used by his Pahlava Conquerors, and Kujūla must have found it convenient to restrike them for his own purpose in his newly conquered territory. In the restruck coins of Harmaeus whose figure and name remain on the obverse, the name of Kujūla appears on the reverse as *Kusulakasa kusanayavugaśa dhramaṭṭhidasa*. This is the explanation of the names of the two sovereigns, separated by a long period of time appearing jointly on these coins.

The Chinese writers state that Kujūla lived for 80 years and that his son and successor Vima Kadphises extended the dominions of the Kushāṇas from the Kābul valley to N. W. India. The Pangtār¹ inscription² of the year 122 shows that this extension took place on or before 64 A.D. The Kushāṇa king (*Mahārāja Gustana*) mentioned in the inscription has been identified by most scholars with Vima Kadphises. Therefore Kujūla Kadphises' reign period must have ended some time before 64 A.D., probably about 55 to 60 A.D.

[SEC. D.]

THE KUSHĀṆAS C. 100-300 A.D.

We have already seen (Sec. B) how the vast nomadic horde, the Yueh-chi had driven another nomadic tribe, the Śakas, from their homeland lying to the north of the Jaxartes about 150 B. C. and that shortly after, the Yueh-chi being in turn driven from their newly occupied lands by their old enemy, the war-sun ended by the Huns, moved southwards, crossed the Oxus, and occupied Bactria from the Śakas who had conquered the country from the Greeks

¹ In the Yusufzai subdivision of the Peshāwar District.

² Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 134.

after their first drive by the Yueh-chi. In course of time after their occupation of Bactria, lost their nomadic habits and became a settled and territorial people.

Kujūla Kadphises was succeeded by his son *Vima Kadphises*. He largely added on to his father's empire. From Taxila he spread his power, over a good portion of Northern India.

Kadphises II. The Śaka Satraps of Western India and Mālwa temporarily submitted to the Kushāṇa rule and acknowledged its supremacy which they later threw over during the weak rule of Kanishka's successors. Kadphises ruled his Indian provinces by means of military governors. The Chinese annals record that the Chinese General Pañ-cha'o won a series of victories over Kadphises and compelled him to pay tributes to the Chinese Emperor. His relations with the Roman Empire in the west were evidently cordial as can be inferred from the exchange of greetings and goodwill between him and the Roman Governor of Mesopotamia. The lack of records of any conflict with the Roman Empire which was conterminous with his own also confirms this friendly relation. One important effect of the conquest of the Kadphises kings was that commerce between China, the Roman Empire and India immensely improved. India sold large quantities of silk, spice and grain for which she received payment in bullion. Large quantities of Roman gold poured into the country which Kadphises utilised for issuing the first Kushāṇa gold coins. An important fact relating to the date of Vima Kadphises rule in India is provided by the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 and the Panjar Stone inscription of the year 122. Both the inscriptions are of an unspecified era and belong to the reign of a 'Kushāṇa king.' The Kushāṇa has been identified with Vima Kadphises, the second Kushāṇa ruler and the era has been accepted by most scholars to be Vikrama-
era, commencing from 58 B.C. whatever its origin. In that case, the period of Vima Kadphise's rule in India may be placed between 64 A.D. as its upper limit, and 78 A.D. as its lower limit if the year 78 A.D. is taken as the year I of the Śaka era which Kanishka I is generally accepted to be the founder.

KANISHKA [C. 78-123 A.D.]

Kadphises II was succeeded by Kanishka whose relationship with the former is not definitely known. Some scholars are of the opinion that Kanishka did not directly succeed Kadphises II, but that a nameless ruler commonly known as Kanishka's date.¹ Soter Megas may have been a successor of Kadphises II. Sir John Marshall held the above view on the discovery of a coin at Taxila bearing that name which, he considers, belongs to the first century A.D. and is, therefore, earlier than those belonging to Kanishka who, according to him and many other scholars, began his reign in the second century A.D. Thus according to Sir John Marshall the date of Kanishka's accession is 125 A.D. [A Guide to Taxila, p. 22]; other dates suggested are from 58 B.C. [Fleet] to 278 A.D. [D. R. Bhandarkar]. Another school of thought which included Professor Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri holds that Kanishka started his reign in 78 A.D. which is the beginning of Śaka era founded by him. The latter, date seems to be more probable for this particular reason among others that if Kanishka started his reign in the second century A.D., then the independent sovereignty of Rudradāman who reigned from A.D. 130-150 cannot be explained. The independent sovereignty of Rudradāman which extended over the whole of Western India including the Lower Indus Valley cannot be reconciled with the extent of Kanishka's empire in India except on the ground that the Western Satraps reasserted their independence *after* the death of Kanishka and during the weak days of his successor, which they had temporarily lost to the rising power of the Kushāṇas under Kanishka I.²

There is no doubt that the year I of Kanishka's reign is

¹ JRAS, 1913, 1914; Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. No. 1 pp. 49-80.

² For further light on the question read Acta Orientalia III, 54 ff; R.H.Q. V. no. 1, March 1929; JBORS XV. pts. I and II March-June 1929; Fleet, Corpus III preface 56; JRAS 1913 pp. 635-650, 98 ff; Sten Konow Corpus II.

the beginning of a new era. The inscriptions of Kanishka I and the princes of his dynasty are all dated in regnal years counted from the year I of Kanishka's reign. It is presumed, therefore, that Kanishka founded an era which commenced from the year of his accession in A.D. 78. The question is : how came this era of Kanishka to be known as the Śaka era, a name which effectively disguises its origin? The following approach to this question will help its solution.

The Śaka-Pahlava rulers of India had lost their proud predominance in N. W. India which was once their own. By the end of the first century A.D. they yielded place to the Kushāṇas, and maintained a sort of precarious existence only in their original Indian settlement, the country of the lower Indus. The author of the *Periplus*, who visited India, about that time, describes the Śaka-Pahlava princes of the Indus delta as perpetually engaged in profusing one another. That these chiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas, is clear from the Sui-vihāra¹ inscription of the year 11 (= 89 A.D.) of Kanishka I.² They now held their principalities as the satraps of the Kushāṇa king and in that capacity led expeditions to Western India to make conquests for their new master. In this manner were the Western Śaka Satrapal kingdom of Mahārāshṭra, Mālwa and Saurashṭra brought into being. The Satrapal kingdom of Mahārashṭra under Nahapāna was short-lived. But the Chastana Kshatrapa line of rulers of Ujjain, ruling Mālwa and Saurashṭra, who evidently become independent sovereigns after the decline of the Kushāṇa power in the beginning of the second century A.D., lasted for nearly three hundred years, until it was conquered by Chandragupta II Vikramadityā about the close of the fourth century A.D. These Śaka satrapal rulers of western India used in their coins and inscriptions dates in an era which starts from the year I of Kanishka's reign in 78 A.D. That range from the year 41

¹ Suivihār, a ruined *Stūpa* near Bahāwulpur. This undoubtedly proves Kanishka I's sovereignty in the lower Indus Country.

² Corp *Ins. Ind.* II. i. p. 141; Sten Konow.

Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* X. p. 324 ff.

(vide Nāsik Cave inscription of Nahapāna¹) to the year 310 (vide the inscription on the silver coin of Rudrasimha III)². Thus these dates cover a long period from 119 to 388 A.D. and form a continuous and complete chronological series. It was, probably on account of its long use by the Śaka Satrapal princes of Western India that the era which began from the beginning of Kanishkas reign in 78 A.D. became known as the Śaka era.

Kanishka greatly extended the empire he had inherited from his predecessor. In India, his conquest included Kashmir and Upper Sind in the north and north-west and was extended as far east as Pāṭaliputra. Tradition has it that after his conquest of Pāṭaliputra he took with him the famous Buddhist scholar Aśvaghoṣa who later acted as Vice-President of the Buddhist Council convened by the Emperor. He carried on a successful warfare against the Parthians. About the close of the first century A.D. the Chinese General Pañ-Cha'o steadily advanced to the west, brought to submission the Trans-Pāmir regions of Kāshgar, Yarkand and Khotān and threatened the eastern frontier of the Kushāṇa empire which was confined by the Oxus. About 90 A.D. Kanishka challenged the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor and asserted his equality with him by demanding a Chinese princess in marriage. General Pañ-Cha'o who considered the proposal as an affront to his master, arrested the envoy and sent him home. At this, Kanishka sent a formidable army of 70,000 cavalry under his General Si to attack the Chinese across the Pāmirs. Kanishka's forces were totally defeated and he was compelled to pay tribute to China. But at a later date, after the death of Pañ-cha'o and after his own conquest of Kashmir, he personally led a second army through the Pāmir Passes which ended in a decisive victory for Kanishka as a result of which he not only freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China but also annexed Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan to his empire.³

His Wars and
Conquests

¹ *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 82 ff.

² Rapson, *Catalogue* p. 194 f., No. 907.

³ E.H.I. 4th Ed. p. 278.

As a result of these conquests, Kanishka's empire in India extended from Kashmīr in the north and the Upper and Lower Indus Valleys in the west to the Vindhya range and Bihar in the south. Beyond India, it comprised three distinct regions : the newly conquered districts in the Trans-Pāmir region ; the Oxus Valley region [Bactria] and the stretch of land between the Hindukush and the Indus comprising Herāt, the Kābul and Helmand Valley regions, now covered by Kābul, Ghazni and Kandahar provinces of Afghanistan and Seistān and Baluchistān.

The capital of this vast empire was located at Purushapura [Peshāwar] which he adorned with many noble edifices, public buildings and Buddhist monasteries. One of the most magnificent of these monasteries was used as a place of Buddhist shrine as late as the ninth century when it was visited by the eminent Buddhist scholar Viradeva who afterwards was appointed abbot of Nālandā in the region of King Devapāla of Magadha [c. A.D. 845-92].¹ The great relic tower of wood which he erected there excited wonder and admiration of all for many centuries. The ancient site of Kanishka's capital has recently been discovered near the modern city of Peshāwar.

Kanishka adopted India as his country and ruled it personally from his capital at Purushapura. For his trans-border provinces, he appointed viceroys. We know from the Chinese annals the name of one of his viceroys, Si who was sent on an expedition by him to the Trans-Pāmir region to fight with the Chinese General Pañ-cha'o.

We know very little of his governance. The Sārṇāth Inscription dated the year 3 indicates that he maintained a Satrapal system of government. We find that Khara-pallāna was his Mahākshatrapa, presumably at Mathurā, and Vanaspara was governing the eastern region of Benares as a Kshatrapa.

¹ Ind. Ant. XVII [1888], pp. 307-12.

His coins give certain indication of the gradual change of his religion. The early coins were Greek in character, script and language, and the latter ones were Persian in language, Greek in script with a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian gods' portraits. His latest coins bear the image of Buddha (which prove that Kanishka was a Buddhist and belonged to the Mahāyāna sect.

Kanishka was a foreigner by birth but an Indian by choice. He loved and adopted India's living faith in Buddhism as his religion. His earlier coins show that he was like his predecessors an adherent of pantheism. But his later coins and many monumental and epigraphic evidences clearly point to his conversion to Buddhism. Many Buddhist legends depict his earlier years in the blackest possible colour. He is, like Aśoka before his conversion, painted as a monster, with a heart thirsting for the blood of others. He loved to kill men. He has been made guilty of the cruelest deeds and his heart is never happy. At last he feels remorse and his heart recoils from the horrors of bloodshed and wars. At this stage, he comes across a Buddhist sage and like Aśoka, takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha and turns out a god-like man. The legend is an echo of many other Buddhist legends which have been associated with the conversion of important personages, e.g., Udayana, Aśoka and Menander by Buddhist writers to magnify the virtue of their religion. Allowing for the inevitable exaggerations of the legend, we can glean certain facts acceptable to sober history and that is that after his occupation of the city of Pāṭaliputra, he came into contact with the famous Buddhist saint and scholar Aśvaghosha who evidently impressed him with his character and scholarship for which Kanishka had a great leaning. He took Aśvaghosha with him to his capital and later accepted Buddhism as a result of the saint's personal influence and exposition of the Law to him in a convincing manner.

Kanishka became an ardent Buddhist and followed in the footsteps of his illustrious proto-type Aśoka in the service of his religion.¹ The Mahāyāna texts give him as honoured place as the Hinayāna texts assign to Aśoka. According to Buddhist

¹ *Watters* I. DD. 270-278.

traditions, Kanishka called a great Buddhist council at Kundalavana Vihāra in Kashmīr.¹ The purpose is stated to have been to collate and to comment on the sacred books. The leading monks were Pārśva, Aśvaghosha and Vasumitra. Vasumitra was the President and Aśvaghosha the Vice-President of the Council. Two important results were obtained in the council. One was the new codification of the sacred Śāstras in the light of the new ideas and the growth of many new schools of Buddhist philosophy. The language of the new codification was Sanskrit. The other was the official recognition of the Mahāyāna Buddhism as state religion of which Kanishka became the patron for its propagation.

Before Kanishka, Buddhism was meant to suit an Indian audience. Under Aśvaghosha, Vasumitra and Nāgārjuna, through the help of the Buddhist Council, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was definitely recognised as state religion. The germs of Mahāyānism, as already stated in detail [Supra p. 59] were latent in Hinayānism. In Mahāyānism, Gautama Buddha was elevated from his position of a teacher to that of God. Buddhism thus became theistic. This transformation of Buddhism from Hinayāna [Lower Vehicle] to Mahāyāna [Greater Vehicle] was more suitable to the mentality of Kanishka's subjects composed of different nationalities. Its simple theism based on a personal God had a greater appeal to them. Mahāyānism believed in the divinity of the Buddha, in the efficiency of prayer, devotion and faith. Not only personal salvation but that of the entire universe was the ideal of Mahāyānism. In short, a new life was infused in the old Buddhism and in its new form it spread rapidly to many countries beyond the borders of India. Tibet, China, Burma and Japan readily accepted the new form of Buddhism. Mahāyānism is called the northern school of Buddhism, and Sanskrit is the vehicle of its literature to distinguish it from the old or Hinayāna Buddhism which is called the southern school, with Pāli as the medium of its sacred texts. Kanishka, as the royal supporter and patron of Mahāyānism, occupies an equally great place as Aśoka had occupied with regard to Hinayānism.

¹ Watters, I, pp. 270-278.

Kanishka was not only a mighty conqueror but a great builder also. His reign witnessed the growth of beautiful styles and the development of different schools of art. The sculpture, architecture and the relief-works had their development at four distinct centres, Sārnāth, Mathurā, Amarāvati and Gandhāra. Each had a style of its own, uninfluenced by the other. There is, however, a faint resemblance to be noticed in the sculptural art in the statues discovered at Sārnāth and Mathurā. The unique art of elaborate bas-reliefs discovered at Amarāvati offer excellent examples of sculpture. The relic tower of the Buddha at Peshāwar was chiefly constructed of wood and stood 400 feet high. The ruins of Taxila consist of three cities built at three different periods. The third city, now the Sirsukh section of the ruins, represents the one built by Kanishka.¹ He built a tower in Kashmīr which still bears his name. He not only beautified Peshāwar but also Mathurā with numerous buildings, monasteries and statues. His patronage of Mahāyānism led to the construction of a large number of images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas for worship. A large headless image constructed in the third year of Kanishka's reign was discovered at Sārnāth and another also headless [of the Buddha] constructed in the second year of his reign was recently discovered at Kauśāmbī.² In Mathurā has been discovered a remarkable portrait statue of Kanishka also lacking its head.

During the time of Kanishka, a vast number of Buddhist monasteries, stūpas and statues sprang into existence which bear a distant influence of the old Greek School of Art. This style of Greek art adapted to Indian genius and applied to Buddhist subjects may be called the Graeco-Buddhist School of art. But the name by which it is best known is the Gandhāra School of art, because the chief centre of its activity was the valley of Peshāwar, where Kanishka established his capital and this tract of the country was called Gandhāra. Large collection of the sculptures

¹ Marshall: A Guide to Taxila, pp. 6, 96 ff.

² See the author's book, "An Early History of Kauśāmbī" pp. 108-10.

which this school produced have been made in the frontier and may be seen in the museums at Peshāwar, Lahore and Calcutta. The sculptures of this school were executed in stone, stucco, terracotta and clay and appear to have been invariably embellished with gold leaf or paint. Specimens preserved in Peshāwar, Lahore and other museums are executed in stone. But at Taxila, the archaeologists have recovered, besides stone images, a large number of stucco ones, a smaller number of terra-cotta and clay-figures. These discoveries have greatly added to our knowledge the technical skill employed by the artists of the Gandhāra School.¹ The Gandhāra School of art was confined more or less to the north western region of India and became the centre from which it was diffused to the Far East along with Buddhism. Besides giving birth to the Gandhāra School, Hellenistic art, to quote Sir John Marshall, "never took the real hold upon India that it took, for example, upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperament of the two peoples were radically different and dissimilar. To the Greek, man, man's beauty, intellect were every thing and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the key-note of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakend no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than the finite. While the Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual, where Greek was rational, his was emotional. And to these higher aspirations, these more spiritual instincts he [the Indian] sought at a later date, to weave articulate expression by translating them into terms of form and colour."² There is no doubt that in Gupta art we see the fulfilment of this ideal when a close contact had been established between thought and art.

Kanishka was a great patron of literature as of art and architecture. With love for learning and learned men, he gathered round him a band of men of great reputation.

Literature. Large quantities of Sanskrit literature of

¹ Marshall : A Guide to Taxila, p. 31.

² Ib. p. 34.

high standard, both religious and secular, were produced in that congenial atmosphere of royal patronage.

The name of Kanishka is associated with several eminent Buddhist writers. The most famous of them is Aśvaghosha.

He was a poet, musician, preacher, moralist, philosopher, play-wright, tale-teller; he was an inventor of all these arts and excelled in all; in richness and variety, he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant, and Voltaire. He is the author of the *Buddha Charita*, a complete life of Buddha written in the form of Mahākāvya in fine Sanskrit and style. The Buddhists rank this famous book with the great epic, Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. His second work is the *Saundarnanda Kāvya* written in Kāvya style and deals with particular episodes of Buddha's life. The third work ascribed to the famous Buddhist writer is *Vajrasuci* in which he condemns Brāhmaṇical caste system by quoting authorities from Brāhmaṇical literature, Aśvaghosha's fame as dramatist rests upon the work *Śāriputra-prakarāṇa* which has been recently discovered.¹

The person who stands next to Aśvaghosha in the field of literature in the Kushāṇa period is Nāgārjuna.² This great teacher of the philosophy of relativity was born in Nagarjuna. the country of Vidarbha in Southern India.

He studied the Vedas and other Brāhmaṇical scriptures. Being converted to Buddhism, he became one of the most important exponents of Mahāyāna philosophy. His best known works are *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra-Śāstra* dealing with the philosophy of relativity which teaches that every thing exists in relation to something else; and that there is no independent existence of anything. For instance, there can be good only if there is something bad as well. There can be existence, only if there is non-existence. Thus there is no independent existence of anything. This philosophy is known as *Mādhyamika* or the philosophy of relativity.

¹ Lüders discovered some fragments of this work in palm leaf Mss. from Turfan and published in S.B.A., 1911, p. 388ff.

² Some scholars put him in the second century A.D., and make him a contemporary of Kanishka II.

The two other scholars associated with the name of Kanishka are *Vasumitra* and *Charaka*. *Vasumitra*, as President of the Buddhist Council convened by Kanishka, took a leading part in the examination of the Buddhist theological literature from the most remote antiquity and in the preparation of the elaborate commentaries on the main three divisions of the Canon. One such commentary, the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* is, according to Taka Kusu, the work of *Vasumitra*. *Charaka*, the most celebrated author of the Āyurvedic science, is reputed to have been the court physician of Kanishka.

Kanishka was followed by three successive rulers, *Vāsishka*, *Huvishka* and *Vāsudeva*. Very little is known about them. There are two inscriptions of *Vāsishka* dated 24 and 28, proving his control over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwa. *Huvishka* seems to have lost Mālwa and the Lower Indus Valley which probably went under the control of the Chashtāna Śakas of Ujjain. That he had still sway over Mathurā, Kasmira and Kābul is proved by epigraphic and monumental evidences. The Wardak Vase inscription [Ep. Ind. XI, pp. 210 f.] proves his rule over Kābul. The town of Hushkapura¹ in Kashmīr built by Huvishka proves the inclusion of Kaśmīra in his dominions. He also built a splendid monastery in Mathurā which shows that he was a patron of Buddhism. The Mathurā stone inscription of the year 28 = A.D. 106 [Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 60 f] and the Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51 = A.D. 129, provide the two fixed points of chronology of the reign period of Huvishka. But during this period we find the name of another Kanishka described as a Mahārāja Devaputra, which is the usual title borne by the sovereign rulers of the Kushāna dynasty, in the Ārā stone inscription of the year 41 = A.D. 119. He cannot be Kanishka I, as his immediate successors had already reigned before 119 A.D. He is therefore to be called *Kanishka II*. He is described in the inscription as a son of Vajhishpa [Vāsishka of the Sāñchī Buddhist

¹ U-sse-kia-lo—*Life* p. 68.

Vāsudeva was the last notable king of Kanishka's line. The dates of his inscriptions which range from the year 74 to 98 make his reign period *circa* 152-176 A.D. His inscriptions have been found only in Mathurā and its neighbourhood. This shows that he lost control of the north-western portion of the Kushāṇa empire. It appears that *Vāsudeva* discarded Biuddhism. His coins bear on the reverse the figure of Śiva, with *Nandī* as his attendant, and show that he adopted Śaivism as his faith. His name which is associated with god Viṣṇu shows that the Kushāṇa ruler was completely Hinduised.

The Kushāṇa empire which started dismembering during the reign of Vāsudeva broke up into small principalities under petty chiefs whose names appear on coins. These chieftains finally disappeared at the close of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century A. D., having succumbed to the rising power of the Nāgas which dominated a large part of Northern India during that period.

¹ Ep. Ind. II, pp. 369-70. Sarkar, D. C. suggests that ष्य was intended by ष्य S. I. P. 149, n. 3.

... holds the same view (PHAI 2nd Ed. p. 3)

CHAPTER IX

THE NĀGAS

It appears that after the downfall of the Kushāṇas, the Nāgas ruled over a considerable portion of Northern India. Several Vākāṭaka records mention that Rudrasena II who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II was a grandson's grandson of Bhava Nāga who was the king of the Bhāraśiva—Nāgas. This shows that the Nāgas were a ruling power in Northern India before the Gupta imperial power was established. The Purāṇas mention that the Nāgas ruled over Vidiśā, Padmāvati [C. I.], Kāntipuri [Mirzapur District] and Mathurā. We find the name of a Nāga King Maheśvara Nāga, son of Nāgabhaṭṭa, in a Lahore copper seal inscription. This shows that the Nāga rule was also established in the Punjab. A Vākāṭaka Lapidary, the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II shows that a branch of the Nāga dynasty, the Bhāraśiva Nāgas ruled the kingdoms bordered on the Bhāgirathī [the Ganges] and performed ten Aśvamedha ceremonies. Dr. Jayaswal suggests that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāsvamedha-ghāṭa at Benares. The suggestion is problematical. A daughter of their king Bhavanāga was married to the Vākāṭaka prince Gautamiṣṭha whose son was Rudrasena. Rudrasena is probably to be identified with the Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. There is no doubt that the Nāgas were a powerful rival of the rising power of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The Nāga princes offered the first resistance to the imperialism of Samudragupta who, as is stated in his Allahabad *prasasti*, defeated and killed several Nāga princes, e.g., Gaṇapati Nāga [king of Padmāvati], Nāgasena [king of Mathurā]. Amongst other defeated kings mentioned in the Allahabad inscription are Achyuta whose coins have been found in Rāmanagar [in the Bareilly District] and Nandi. Both were probably Nāga kings. Thus the Nāga family, scattered in different parts of India under separate kings, ruled the countries of the

Madhyadeśa including Mathurā, the Central India and the Punjab during the period between the downfall of the Kushāṇas and the rise of the Guptas into a full-fledged imperial power. That the Nāgas retained their power over some portion of Northern India even up to the end of the fifth century A.D. is clear from the fact that a hand of the Nāga princess; Kuberaṇāgā, was sought by the great Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II [Rithpur Plate, S.I., p. 416.]¹

¹ The view that the Bhāraśiva Nāgas attained great imperial power as held by Dr. Jayaswal [History of India from 150-350 A.D.] has been contested by Dr. Altekar. [Dr. Altekar points out, among other things, that the performance of ten Aśvamedhas is no sure evidence of imperial conquests and power. There are instances of several rulers with no claim to imperial power performing Aśvamedha sacrifices. For examples Śāntamūla, the Ikshvāku who ruled only over two or three districts performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice in c. 225 A.D. The Kadamba king, Krishṇavarman who was not even an independent king, performed it in C. 450. The Viṣṇu Kuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I performed no less than eleven Aśvamedhas although his kingdom was a small one. N.H.I. p. 26, n. 2.]

CHAPTER X

THE GUPTA EMPIRE [c. 300-500 A.D.]

In the third century A.D., as we have seen, Northern India lacked political unity. It was divided into a number of independent states. The Nāgas ruled over a considerable portion of Northern India, though they never rose to be a great imperial power. The history of the disjointed states of Northern India is more or less obscure and the results of modern researches on regional histories of this period are out of place in this book. The beginning of the fourth century, however, ushers a new epoch—the rise of a paramount power in India. Confusion and disintegration gave place to unity. Art, industry, science and literature developed under the patronage of powerful and enlightened emperors. Foreign relations which had a set back in the preceding century were re-established with their former dignity and prestige.

THE EARLY GUPTA RULERS

The Gupta Empire grew out of a small feudal principality. The Gupta Emperors in their epigraphs trace their descent from Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta. He is the first ancestor of the imperial Guptas known to us and is described only as Mahārāja. This shows he was not a paramount sovereign but a feudatory chief. According to the late Dr. Jayaswal he ruled a principality near Prayāga under the suzerainty of the Bhāraśivas. Allan and other scholars think that his principality was confined to Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood. I-tsing, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India at the close of the seventh century A.D., mentions a Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta

Origin of the
Gupta Power.

[Che-li-ki-to] who built a temple for Chinese pilgrims near Mṛigaśikhāvana 500 years before his visit. Allan identifies Śrī-Gupta with *Mahārāja Gupta*, the grand-father of Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta era in 319-20 A.D. The identification militates against that recognised date which makes an interval of more than a century between them. But dates given by I-tsing, argues Allan, may not be taken too literally, as he himself depended on traditions and used a round number. It must be noted that the word Śrī is not an integral part of the name, but is used as a honorific term.

Mahārāja Gupta's son, according to epigraphs, is *Ghaṭotkacha*. He also is styled as a simple Mahārāja, showing his feudatory character. A number of Gupta seals have been found by Mr. Bloch in the Basārḥ excavations. One of them bears the inscription Śrī *Ghaṭotkachaguptasya*. Mr. Bloch thinks that it belongs to the second Gupta ruler. His view is accepted by Vincent Smith but is rejected by Allan on the ground that the most important of these seals, and the one which gives the key to the date of the whole collection is a seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of the Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II and mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta and that there should be a seal of a king who lived a century ago and no other seal of the intermediate period be found. He thinks that the *Ghaṭotkachagupta* of the seal was probably a member of the royal family holding some office at the court of the Yuvarāja Govindagupta. The absence of such titles as Mahārāja still further proves that he cannot be the second Gupta ruler *Ghaṭotkacha*¹.

The view of Allan receives further support by the fact that Basārḥ, the site of the ancient city of Vaiśālī, was under the independent republican tribe of the Lichchhavis in the time of the second Gupta ruler. Further it may be noted that the name given in the Gupta genealogical epigraphs is *Ghaṭotkacha* and not *Ghaṭotkachagupta*.

¹ RASI, 1903-4, pp. 102; JRAS 1903, p. 153; Allan, pp. XVI-VII.

THE IMPERIAL GUPTA RULERS

Chandragupta I

Ghaṭotkacha was succeeded by his son **Chandragupta I**. He was the first of the Gupta rulers to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja. His queen is the first of the line to be mentioned in the genealogical list. She was the Mahādevī Kumāradevī,

Lichchavi-
Marriage: The
Foundation of the
Gupta Empire.

‘daughter of Lichchhavi.’ Samudragupta in the Allahabad inscription is described as ‘Lichchhavi dauhitrah’, the son of the daughter of Lichchhavi and the same epithet is applied to him in all the subsequent epigraphs of the Gupta rulers. The title Mahādevī applied to Kumāradevī corresponds to Mahārājādhirāja and was a prerogative of queens of paramount sovereigns. The Lichchhavi marriage of Chandragupta is further commemorated by a series of Gupta coins having on the *obv.* standing figures of Chnadragupta and Kumāradevī with their names and on the *rev.* the figure of Lakshmi seated on a lion with the legend “Lichchhavayaḥ.” The Lichchhavis were the well known Kshatriya republican people, famous in the Buddhist books, ruling in Vaiśālī [Mod. Basārḥ]. They were always a thorn on the side of the imperial Magadha. We have seen how in the earliest days of the expansion of Magadha as a dominant power in North-Eastren India Bimbisāra won them over by a matrimonial alliance and Ajātaśatru temporarily crippled their power by a stratagem and then built a fort at Pāṭali-putra to check their future aggression [*Supra*, p. 76 f.] it is evident from the pride with which the Lichchhavi connection is mentioned by the successors of Chandragupta I that this union marked an epoch in the greatness of the Gupta family. Allan suggests that the matrimonial alliance was the result of the conquest of the Lichchhavis by Chandragupta I. The suggestion is doubtful in view of the fact that in the list of the territories over which he ruled Samudragupta omits Vaiśālī. Another significant fact is that Kumāradevī appears as a joint-sovereign with Chandragupta I. Never in the history of the Gupta coinage, other queens appear as such. This shows that the Lichchhavis were an independent

and not subordinate ally of Chandragupta I. This alliance with the war-like Lichchhavis who must have been of tremendous help to Chandragupta to conquer the neighbouring states to found an empire and assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja was gratefully commemorated by the Gupta emperors in their inscriptions. It is doubtful that a princess of a defeated people, whose powers were destroyed and their territory annexed, married to the conqueror as a price of the treaty of peace, should have been allowed to figure as a joint-sovereign with her husband on the coins, and that the alliance with her people should have been repeatedly mentioned in the epigraphs of the successors of the conquering king with such pride and gratitude.

No inscription or records of Chandragupta's reign are known which might give us details of the extent of the conquests. But

from our knowledge of Samudragupta's conquests it may be deduced that he [Samudragupta] was already in the possession of the Ganges Valley from the confluence of the Jumna [Prayāga] to Pātaliputra which he evidently inherited from his father. It seems to be to Chandragupta's reign that the verses in the Purāṇas defining the Gupta Dominions refer :

Anugāṅgā Prayāgaṁ cha Sāketam Magadbānstatthā

*Etān Janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Gupta-vamśajāḥ*¹

Chandragupta I founded a new era known as the Gupta era. The first year of this era starts in February 320 A.D., which is assumed the first year of the coronation of Chandragupta I.

According to the latest calculations the era starts from December 319.² This event is one of great importance for the purpose of chronology of the Gupta rulers, as all their epigraphs have used the dates in that era.

¹ Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 99, Śl. 383.

² P.C. Sengupta, JRAS, 1942.

Samudragupta

Chandragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. Some gold coins of Kācha closely resembling the issues of Samudragupta have been found. They bear the name of Kācha on the obverse, and the legend 'Sarvarājohchettā' in Who is Kacha. Brāhmī characters on the reverse. Dr. Vincent Smith¹ thinks that the Kācha of the coin was a rival brother of Samudragupta. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is known from the drama *Devichandraguptam* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandragupta II [Mālavīya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 204-06]. But the epithet 'Sarvarājohchettā' makes it difficult to identify him with a brother of Samudragupta who preceded him or his successor Rāmagupta who is depicted in the drama, the only source of our information about him, as a coward who did not hesitate to sell his wife to the foreign invader to purchase peace. On the other hand, the closeness of the resemblance of the Kācha coins with those of Samudragupta, and the epithet 'destroyer' of all kings applied to the author of the coins make the identification of Kācha with Samudragupta reasonable. Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son Chandragupta who was also known as Devagupta² or Devarāja.³

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta is a comprehensive record of the character and achievements of the great Emperor. It is an undated inscription. But it is not posthumous as Fleet states. The record was engraved after his wars in Northern India and the Deccan and before his performance of the Aśvamedha, which is consequently not found mentioned in it. The Pillar which also contains the inscriptions of Aśoka [*Supra*], was originally at Kauśāmbī [Mod. Kosam] near Allahabad and was removed to

The Allahabad
Pillar Inscription.

¹ EHI, 4th ed. p. 297, n. I.

² Cf. Chammak Copper plate Inscription of Rudra Sena II.

³ Vide, Sāñchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II.

the Allahabad fort built by Akbar. The inscription is non-sectarian, and purely historical. The composer, Harishena, was a poet of high order, as the excellence of the style and language of the *prasasti* shows. He was moreover a high officer of state—a minister of peace and war [*Sāndhi-vigrahika*], who probably accompanied the king in his military campaigns¹ and as such was in close touch with the events. Therefore his writing may be taken as correct in details, and as an authentic source of history of Samudragupta. The *prasasti* is written partly in verse and partly in prose.

The first portion of the inscription which is written in verse and consists of eight stanzas gives us information with regard to the early education of Samudragupta and his fitness for the future exalted position, which he was destined to fill as his father's choicest nominee to the throne. The first two stanzas are more or less completely gone, but certain words that remain indicate that Samudragupta must have successfully fought certain battles during the life time of his father. The third stanza shows that Samudragupta was an accomplished scholar, deeply learned in the Śāstras and fond of the company of learned men. The fourth stanza refers to the nomination of Samudragupta by his father to succeed him with the blessing, 'Rule over the whole world' [*nikhilām pāhyevamurvīmiti*] in the presence of the courtiers who were delighted, and the kinsmen who looked pale [with jealousy] at the event. [*Sabhyeshūcbhvasiteshu tulya kulaja mlānānanodvṛkshitah*] The next two stanzas [nos. 5 and 6] which are broken in several important places probably refer to some war [civil war with his kinsmen?] in which [Samgrāma] his enemies [apakārāh] were defeated by his prowess [*svabujavijitā*]. They were probably pardoned, for the subsequent line shows that their minds being filled with gladness and affection [*toshotṭungaiḥ sphuṭababururasasneha-phullairmanobhibh*] expressed their repentance [*paschāttāpam*].

¹ It seems the ministers of War and Peace of the Gupta rulers usually accompanied their masters in their military campaigns. Cf. Udayagiri Cave Ins. of Chandragupta II [C.I.I., III, p. 25].

The 7th and 8th stanzas and the prose passage following them give details of Samudragupta's military exploits and conquests resulting in a considerable expansion of the
 The First Arya-
 varta War. empire. In line 13 of the inscription, we find, that Samudragupta defeated three kings of Northern India who offered the first resistance to his expansionist policy towards the west. These three kings were Achyuta Nāga, Nāga Sena and Gaṇapati Nāga. They were all Nāga kings ruling in Ahichchhatra, Mathurā and Padmāvati [mod. Nārwar, Gwalior State] respectively. This was the first campaign in Aryāvarta. These three names occur again in I. 21 along with the names of other rulers of Aryāvarta whom he met in battle after his southern campaign.

After having consolidated his conquests in the Gangetic plains and the Doab, Samudragupta set out on the conquest of the South.
 Southern Cam-
 paign Lines 19 and 20 describe the campaign in details. Twelve kingdoms in the Dakṣiṇāpatha are mentioned, the kings of which were captured and later released by Samudragupta. He was satisfied with their submission and probably tributes, and did not annex the countries to his territories under direct rule. The kings mentioned are : [1] Mahendra of Kośala, [2] Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, [3] Mantarāja of Korāla, [4] Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura, [5] Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, [6] Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, [7] Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī [8] Nīlarāja of Avamukta, [9] Hastivarman of Vengī, [10] Ugrasena of Pālakka [11] Kuvera of Devarāshṭra and [12] Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura.

The names of the places which seem to be in geographical order, indicate the route of the march. Most of these names have been satisfactorily identified : [1] *Kosala* is the South Kosala or the districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur, [2] *Mahākāntāra* or a great forest region of Central India, where he defeated Vyāghrarāja, identified with Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Vākātaka Prithivīśena, of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions [Fleet, Nos. 53-54]. Nachna is in the Jaso State Bundelkhand. [3] *Korāla* or Kerala has been identified with the Sonpur District in Central Provinces, its capital being on the Mahānadī, [4] *Piṣṭapura*, modern

Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvārī district, [5] *Kottura* is modern Kothoor near Mahendragiri in Gañjām district, [6] *Eraṇḍapalla* has been identified with localities in the Gañjam and Vizagapatam districts. Then follow three names, e.g. [7] *Vishṇugopa* of Kāñchī. [8] *Nilarāja* of Avamukta, and [9] *Hastivarman* of Veṅgi. Kāñchī is modern Conjeeveram, south-west of Madras; Veṅgi is in Nellore district north of Madras and Avamukta is according to scholars in the Godāvārī district¹ which is still north of Nellore. These three names, at any rate, are not mentioned in geographical order of the onward march. It is, therefore, 'possible, as Dubreuil suggests² that there was a confederacy of those three southern states under the headship of Vishṇugopa, the most powerful ruler of the three and whose name, therefore, has been mentioned first in disregard of the geographical order hitherto followed. Kāñchī was the well-known Pallava capital in the fourth century A.D. There is no doubt that both Vishṇugopa and Hastivarman belonged to the Pallava Dynasty. Hastivarman of Veṅgi has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the Pallava race [IHQ, I. 2, p. 253]. Avamukta was probably a small principality. Jayaswal finds some similarity in that name with the Avu Country whose capital was Pithumḍa³ mentioned in the Hāthigumphā Inscription. The confederacy under the leadership of the Pallava King Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī against Samudragupta was a very probable event. Where Samudragupta actually met the army of the confederacy is not certain. He may or may not have advanced as far as Kāñchī. But it seems certain that he never advanced beyond Kāñchī. Dubreuil's suggestion however, that Samudragupta was defeated by the confederacy cannot be accepted in the face of the direct evidence to the contrary provided by the inscription which clearly states that Samudragupta defeated them. The last three countries mentioned in the list are [10]

¹ PHAI, 3rd ed. p. 367; Cf. Gazetteer of the Godāvārī District Vol. I. p. 213.

² Ancient History of the Deccan.

³ Jayaswal's reading: Avarāja-nivesitam Pithimḍam [Ep. Ind. XX, p. 72 f.].

Pālakka and [11] *Devarāshṭra* and [12] *Kusthalapura*. *Pālakka* has been located in the Nellore District [IHQ, 1, 2, 698]. *Devarāshṭra* has been identified with the Yellamanchili tract in the Vizagapatam district [Dubreuil, AHD., p. 160]. *Kusthalapura* has been identified by Barnett with Kuṭṭalur in North Arcot [Calcutta Review, 1924, p. 253 n.]

The identifications given above clearly show that Samudragupta's campaigns were limited to the eastern coast of the Deccan. The other view that Samudragupta returned by the western coast was due to the identifications proposed by Smith and Fleet of Erandapalla with Erandol in Khandesh, and if *Devarāshṭra* be *Mahārāshṭra*. But, as we have seen above, those places have been located in the Eastern Deccan. Dubreuil also thinks that the identification of Erandapalla with Erandol and of *Devarāshṭra* with *Mahārāshṭra* is probably wrong [Modern Review, 1921, p. 457]. There is another important point to consider. The central and western parts of the Deccan were under the rule of the *Vākātakas*, and the name of the *Vākātaka* ruler is not found in the list of the princes defeated by Samudragupta in his Southern campaign. That the *Vākātaka* power remained intact during the southern campaign of Samudragupta can be inferred from the fact that the *Vākātaka* prince Rudrasena I [identified with Rudradeva of the inscription] was the most powerful of the *Aryāvarta* rulers to be chosen as the head of the confederation which Samudragupta defeated in a second *Aryāvarta* war which took place after his southern campaign [*Infra*].

Line 21 of the inscription repeats the three names [mentioned in L. 13] and six new names of the rulers of *Aryāvarta*, all of whom were completely exterminated by Samudragupta. They are

Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati-nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, and Balavarman. It seems clear that Samudragupta met these rulers on his return home after the southern campaign. It is probable that the

above-mentioned kings made a confederacy during Samudragupta's absence in the South, and he had a second war to fight in *Aryāvarta*. Otherwise, there is no point in mentioning Gaṇa-

The Second Aryāvarta War: The Battle of Kaushambi.

patināga, Achyuta and Nāgasena a second time and all other names along with them after the description of the southern campaign. There is no indication in the inscription as to the place where the battle with the confederate army took place. But our surmise is that it may have taken place in Kauśāmbī where high-roads from North, South and West converged, making it possible for all the rulers of Northern India named in the inscription to congregate easily. After this great victory over the northern princes, Harisheṇa, the king's minister of war, who was most probably present in the war; composed the *praśasti* which was engraved on the Aśoka pillar found conveniently on the spot.

Most of the kings mentioned in the inscription [l. 21] have been satisfactorily identified: [1] *Rudradeva* has been identified by K. N. Dikshit and Jayaswal with Rudrasena I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. [IHQ. I, 2. 254; Jayaswal, Hist. Ind. 150-350 A.D.]. His territories included Bundelkhand [C.I.] and Central and Western Deccan. Being a powerful sovereign, his name comes first, probably as the head of the confederacy. [2] *Matila* was a ruler of a region in Western U. P. A clay seal bearing his name has been found in Bulandshahr [Ind. Ant. VIII, p. 989]. [3] *Nāg datta* was perhaps a Nāga king, and has not been definitely identified. [4] *Chandravarman* has been identified with the 'Mahārāja Chandravarman of Pushkaraṇā' of the Susunia Rock Inscription [Ep. Ind. XIII, p. 133]. Dr. Harprasad Śāstrī identified Pushkaraṇā with Pushkara near Ajmer. Others like Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri and D. C. Sarkar identify Pushkaraṇa with Pokharaṇa, placed on the Damodar river in the Bankura District [Bengal]. [5] *Gaṇapati Nāga* was a Nāga king of Padmāvati whose coins have been found in Narwar, near Padam Pawayā [ancient Padmāvati] in the Gwalior State. [6] *Nāgasena*, also a Nāga prince, has been identified by Jayaswal as a ruler of Mathurā¹ [7] *Achyuta* was a Nāga ruler of Ahichchhatra [mod. Rāmanagar in the Bareilly Dist. U.P.] where his coins have been found. [8] *Nandi* was perhaps another Nāga prince ruling some territory in Central India. In the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas the name of Śīśunandi of Śivanandi is connected with the

¹ Jayaswal: Hist. of India, 150-350 A.D.

Nāga rulers of Central India. Dubreuil identifies Śivanandi with Nandi of the inscription [AHD, p. 31]. [9] *Balavarman* has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Some scholars think that he was the king of Assam and was a predecessor of Bhāskarvarman, the contemporary of Harsha [Ep. Ind. XII, p. 69].

Samudragupta compelled the forest tribes [*āṭavika-rājas*] to submit to him [*parichāra-kikṛita*]. According to Dr. Fleet the forest regions extended from Gazipur Dist. in the U. P. to Jabbalpore in the C. P. [Fleet, G. I., p. 144]. The conquest of this region was considered a necessity by Samudragupta to keep open the route of communication between Aryāvarta and the South. The Eraṇ [Sāgar Dist. C. P.] inscription of Samudragupta also lends support to his conquest of this region.

Line 22 of the inscription gives a list of five frontier [*partyanta*] countries which not only paid tributes to Samudragupta but came to pay their homage to him at his command. Frontier States : The States were [1] *Samataṭa* [mod. Baḍkamta, near Comilla, Tipperah District]; [2] *Ḍavāka* [Mod. Ḍabok in Naogong District Assam]; [3] *Kāmarūpa* [Gauhati region of Assam]; [4] *Nepal*; [5] *Kartipur* [Katurīārāj of Kamaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.]

The nine tribal peoples which submitted to Samudragupta are mentioned as follows : [1] The *Mālavas*. They were an ancient republican tribe called by the Greeks as Malloi. Tribal Peoples. They offered a stiff resistance to Alexander in their homeland in the Punjab, but were defeated. They later migrated to Rājputānā and ultimately settled in the region which became known as Mālhwā or the land of the Mālavas. A large number of Mālava coins have been found in the Jaipur State [Rājputānā] with the legend '*Mālavaganasya jayah*' [JRAS, 1893, p. 882]. [2] The *Arjunāyanas* who probably lived in the region of the present Bharatpur State where a large number of their coins have been found bearing the inscription "*Ārjunāyanānām Jayah*." [C. C. I. M. p. 161].

[3] The *Yaudheyas*, an ancient republican tribe who lived in the Eastern Punjab in the Sutlaj region, [*infra*], Bharatpur and possibly further South [C.C.I.I. III. No. 58].

[4] The *Madrakas*, another very ancient republican people whose capital was Śākala or Sialkot in the Punjab.

[5] The *Ābhīras* lived in the Punjab and western Rājputānā. A section of the tribe evidently settled in Central India, as the region between Jhansi and Bhilsa is known Āhīrwād, after their name [JRAH, 1897, p. 891].

[6] The *Prāṛjunas* are also mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. They are placed in the Narsinghpur District [C. P.]

[7] The *Sanakāṇikas* lived in East Mālwa. A ruler of the Sanakāṇikas, son of Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa, has been mentioned as a vassal chief of Chandragupta II in his Udayagiri [near Bhilsa] Cave Inscription of the year 402 A.D.¹

[8] The *Kākas* possibly lived in the region of Kākanādboṭa, the ancient name of Sāñchī [9] The *Kharaparīkas* probably lived in Central India.

Lines 23 and 24 of the inscription mention certain foreign potentates who purchased peace by self surrender and acts of homage such as the bringing of gifts of maidens [*Kanyopāyana-dāna*], and the prayer [*Yāchanā*] for charters stamped Foreign powers. with the Garuḍa seal.² [*garutmadaṅka-svavishayabukti-Śāśana*]. The foreign powers who thus voluntarily entered into some sort of subordinate alliance with Samudragupta were : [1] *Daivaputra-Shābi-shahānushāhi* who was evidently a scion of the imperial Kushāṇa ruler, then ruling some territory in the north-west. The Imperial Kushāṇa rulers, e.g. Kanishka and his descendants assumed the titles of Devaputra [Son of Gods] and Rājātīrāja [King of Kings]. The latter may be the Persian counterpart of Shāhānushāhi [Shāhanshāh].

[2] The Śaka Muruṇḍas may mean two separate ethnic groups, the Muruṇḍas being a Scythian tribe like the Śakas as Dr. Ray-

¹ C.I.I., III, p. 25.

² The Garuḍa bird was a Gupta royal emblem, found in the standard of the Gupta kings. It is represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

chaudhuri suggests or denote 'Lords of the Śakas' as Sten Konow argues on the ground that the word *Muruṇḍa* is a Śaka word meaning Lord, Skt. *Svāmin*.¹

[3] The people of *Simhala* [*Saimbalakādi*] and other dwellers in islands [*Sarvadvipa-Vāsibhiḥ*]. According to a Chinese source [Ind. Ant. 1902, pp. 192—97] Samudraguptas' Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarṇa who sent an embassy with gifts to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a monastery at Bodha-Gayā for the use of Chinese pilgrims. It is not clear what 'all other dwellers in islands' definitely mean.

Having thus established a vast empire Samudragupta naturally performed the *Aśvamedha* ceremony which has been traditionally recognised in India as a symbol of imperialism. He issued on the occasion of the sacrifice gold coins for distribution to Brahmans which contain on the obverse a horse standing before a *Yūpa* [sacrificial post] and on the reverse the queen and the Legend '*Aśvamedha parākramah*' [he whose valour has been established by *Aśvamedha*]. He must have performed this sacrifice sometime after the Allahabad *praśasti* was recorded, as it is not mentioned there. The fact is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of his successors who state that it was revived by Samudragupta after it had long been in abeyance [*Chirotsannāśva-medhābartuḥ*]. But this is apparently an exaggeration as we know the *Bhāraśiva-Nāgas* and *Pravarasena I Vākātaka* celebrated the *Aśvamedha* not very long before Samudragupta.²

Harishena describes Samudragupta as a man of versatile genius. He was not only great in war winning all his battles, but great in the arts of peace. He was an accomplished scholar, learned in the sacred lore [*Śāstras*], a poet of the highest order [*Kavirāja*], a patron of learning. He was such an excellent musician that his performance of music, says Harishena, even excelled *Tumburu* and

A versatile
Genius

¹ PHAI, 3rd. Ed., p. 373.

² Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, VII, pp. 164-65; Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—Studies in Gupta History, pp. 44-45.

Nārada. His love for music and sports is further proved by his certain coin-types. In one he is shown playing on a *vīṇā* [Lyrist type] and in others [e.g. Archer and Tiger types] he is shown in the attitude of hunting.

Samudragupta was probably the first Gupta ruler to issue an extensive coinage. His commonest type is the standard type which closely resembles the late Kushāṇa coins of the Eastern Punjab. His other coins are Archer, Battle-axe, Tiger and Lyrist Types. According to Allan, the Chandragupta I and Kācha Types of coins also were issued by Samudragupta. But this is a matter of opinion.

It is very difficult to be definite about the reign-period of Samudragupta. Dr. Vincent Smith fixes it 330-375 A.D. The Nālanda Plate¹ and the Gayā Plate which are dated inscriptions

Date of Samu- dragupta	contain the date of the G. E. 5 and G. E. 9 respectively. In that case Samudragupta's reign began from 324 or 325 A.D. The earliest recorded date of his son and successor Chandragupta II as found in Mathurā Inscription is G. E. 61. Therefore his reign must have ended before 380 A. D. Most scholars, however, consider both Nālanda and Gayā Plates as spurious [S. I., p. 262, n. 4], although the well-known archaeologist, the late Prof. Rakhaldas Banerji believes the Gaya-Plate to be genuine ² .
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¹ Considered spurious by Fleet.

² Manindra Chandra Nandi Lectures, p. 8.

[APPENDIX III]

RĀMAGUPTA

According to the Gupta genealogical lists provided in their inscriptions the immediate successor of Samudragupta was his son Chandragupta II. But new light has been thrown on the genealogy of the imperial Guptas through the discovery of a Sanskrit play, the *Devīchandrāguptam* by Viśākhadatta, the reputed author of another historical drama the *Mudrārākṣasa* [600 A.D.]. The drama is lost, but certain passages of the work have been found quoted in the newly discovered work on dramaturgy by Ramachandra and Guṇachandra called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. Sylvain Levi noticed these passages for the first time and published them in the *Journal Asiatique* [1923, pp. 201-3]. These extracts from the *Devīchandrāguptam* begin from the second Act where it is stated that Rāmāgupta agrees to give away his queen Dhruvadevī, to the Śakas, in order to remove the apprehensions of his subjects. Dhruvadevī complains of the heartlessness of her husband. Prince Chandragupta kills Śakādhipati in the guise of Dhruvadevī, then murders his brother and marries Dhruvadevī.

Although the drama is not yet available in its complete form, the following facts can be deduced from the above extracts:

1. Samudragupta was succeeded by his eldest son Rāmāgupta, who was a weak and cowardly king.
2. There was war between the Imperial Guptas and the Śakas.

3. The Sakas were defeated by Chandragupta II. Bāṇa [700 A.D.] refers to this event in his *Harshacharita* where he states that Chandragupta killed the Lord of the Śakas, having entered the enemy's camp in the guise of a woman [*aripure cha para-kalatra-kāmukam kāmīniveshaguptaḥ Chandraguptaḥ sakapātimasbātayaḥ*]. The commentator of *Harshacharita*, *Sanakarāya* [c.1400 A.D.] explains that the lord of the Śakas was desirous of Dhruvadevī, sister-in-law of Chandragupta who killed him in the guise of

Dhruvadevī.¹ The story is also found mentioned in the *kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of the poet Rājaśekhara [1100 A. D.] and in the *Śringāra-Prakāśa* of King Bhoja of Dhār [1100 A. D.]. Lately Altekar [JBORS, XIV, P. 151] has drawn attention of scholars to the story of Rawal and Barkamāris narrated in Majmul-ut-Tawārikh, a work compiled in the eleventh century A. D.² The author of that work Abul Hasan Ali [1026 A. D.] made a literal translation of an Arabic work, which, in its turn was a translation of a Hindu work. The story has a great resemblance to the plot of Devichandragupta. Rawal stands for Rāmā-gupta, and Barkamāris for Vikramāditya. The story is almost the same as in the plot of Devichandragupta extracted in the Nāṭya Darpaṇa.

We find an echo of this story also in an inscription of the 9th century A. D. The Sañjan Copper-Plate inscription of Amoghavarsha I [871 A. D.] probably refers to it, where it is stated that the donor, in the Kaliyuga, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed [his] brother, seized [his] kingdom and wife" [Ep. Ind. VIII].

Thus the story which was current in books and epigraphs from the 6th to the 11th century A. D. cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere imagination of the poet. Viśākhadatta is well known as a writer of historical plays containing germs of historical facts. His *Mudrārākṣhasa* is based on some historical events which took place nearly a thousand years before his time. He was not far-removed from the time of Chandragupta II [400-500 A.D.] and the episode was too recent for him to make any mistake about its details. Further, it is unthinkable that an author living in the Gupta age should have thought of disparaging even in a dramatic play, a scion of the Imperial Guptas as a mere imaginary creation, unless it had some foundation in fact to provide him with the

² Cf. "शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां भ्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन भ्रुवदेवीवेशधारिणा क्रीवेशजनपरिवृत्तेन व्यापादितः ।"
—Sankararya's Commentary.

² Elliot and Dawson, History of India, Vol. I. pp. 110-12.

necessary justification. The play undoubtedly reflected the contempt which the ruler and the ruled of the writer's time had for Rāmagupta as a man and a king.

Now, two questions arise: [1] why is there no reference to Rāmagupta in any of the Gupta inscriptions or [2] the existence of any coins bearing his name?

The questions may be explained by the fact that his own personal reign was too short and troublous to issue any coins or construct any epigraphic monuments himself. The omission of his name in the later Gupta inscriptions, e.g., in those of Chandragupta II and his successors is due to the fact that the epigraphic lists are genealogical and not dynastic, the names of collateral predecessors being generally omitted. For instance in the Bilsāḍ Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I or the Bhitari and Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta which contain the genealogical lists of their predecessors, the name of Govindagupta, a son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi¹, is omitted. A more fitting illustration is found in the Bhitari Seal [*Ind. Ant.* XIX] in which Kumāragupta II in tracing his genealogy from Mahārāja Gupta mentions his father Puragupta immediately after Kumāragupta I, and omits the name of Skandagupta, who, although an imperial Gupta ruler of Magadha, was of a collateral branch in relation to the royal author of the inscription. Moreover, Rāmagupta's records were too ignominious to be mentioned by the later Gupta kings in their inscriptions, even if any of their successors in the direct line ever ruled and published any epigraphic list³.

¹ Cf. Basārḥ Seals [ASR, 1903-4].

² For further light on this problem read A. S. Altekar *JBORS* XIV, 223 ff; XV, 134 ff; R. D. Banerji [*AlG* pp. 26 ff.] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Mālavīya Comm. Vol.* p. 189 ff; K. P. Jayaswal; *JBORS* XVIII, 17 ff. Winternitz, *Aiyangar Comm. vol.* pp. 359 ff; Sten Konow *JBORS* XXIII, 444; V. V. Mirashi *I. H. Q.* X. 48; *IA* LXII, 201 N. Das Gupta, *IC* IV, 216; H. C. Raychaudhuri *PhAl* 4th Ed., p. 465.

CHANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA

[c. 380-414 A. D.]

The next great imperial Gupta ruler after Samudragupta was Chandragupta II. His mother's name was Dattadevi. He is more popularly known as Chandragupta Succession Vikramāditya which title he probably assumed after his hard-won victory over the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. It seems probable that Chandragupta was chosen as his father's nominee as the best fitted to succeed him. In giving the genealogical list of his predecessors in the Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription [C. I. I., III p. 49 f.] Skandagupta describes his grandfather Chandragupta II as 'the chosen of Samudragupta' [*tatparigrihitah*]. The term undoubtedly proves that Samudragupta had more than one sons. Perhaps Rāmagupta was one of them [See Appendix III]. The Eran Inscription of Samudragupta [C.I.I., III, p. 20] also describes him as the owner of 'many sons and grandsons' [*babuputra-pautra*]. He was not evidently the eldest son of his father, the lawful crown-prince, for in that case there should not have been any necessity for nomination. If the story of Rāmagupta, who is shown there as Chandragupta's elder brother, is to be believed, then some time elapsed between the death of Samudragupta and the accession of Chandragupta.

The earliest recorded date of Chandragupta II's reign is G. E. 61=A. D. 380 [Mathurā Inscription; Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 8 f.]. Therefore, we can assume that his reign began at least before 380 A.D. A number of dated inscriptions enabled His reign-period us to define the limits of his reign. His latest dated record is the Sāñchī Stone Inscription of G. E. 93=A. D. 412 [C.I.I. III, p. 31]. The earliest dated record of his son and successor Kumāragupta I is the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of G. E. 96=A. D. 415. Therefore we may assume that Chandragupta II's reign ended sometimes between 412 and 415. probably in or about A. D. 413 or 414.

Chandragupta II inherited a vast empire from his father. But his hereditary enemies the Śakas were a thorn on his side. The

remnant of the Śaka power in India still retained their hold in Western Mālwa [Ujjain], Gujarāt, and Saurāshṭra. The Śaka war [Kāthiāwād]. Chandragupta determined to destroy these western Satraps. There is no doubt that he won a great victory over them and annexed their territories to his empire. Literary allusions to this Śaka War in which the Śaka chief was killed by Chandragupta by a stratagem mentioned in the *Devī-chandraguptam* and the *Harshacharita*, etc., have already been discussed [*Supra*]. They all agree to the fact that the Śaka king was slain in his own town. Some other evidences point to the historicity of this war. The Vākāṭaka alliance by Chandragupta has been rightly assessed by scholars as a preliminary preparation for the invasion of Western India [*infra* p. 251]. The Udaigiri [near Bhilsa, Eastern Mālwa] Cave Inscription No. 2 records the dedication of a cave to Sambhu [Śiva] by his minister of peace and war, named Śāba-Vīrasena of Pāṭaliputra, who accompanied his master Chandragupta when the latter was out in his military expedition to 'conquer the earth' [*Kṛtsna-prithvījayārthena*]. The inscription is unfortunately undated and does not provide us with the clue to the actual date of the invasion. But it indicates the route of the march. The dedication of the Cave by Chandragupta's minister of war, Śāba-Vīrasena was evidently an act of worship to the great god Śiva for his blessing for victory in the impending battle. A clue to the date of the battle as well as the event of victory is, however, provided by the silver coins of Chandragupta II. It is only the Śaka rulers of India, we know, who issued silver coins. None of the Indian rulers ever issued silver coins before Chandragupta II who probably coined them in imitation of the Śaka after he had destroyed their power and annexed their territories. The latest issue of silver coins of the last Śaka King Rudrasimha III who was probably the antagonist defeated by Chandragupta is dated 300 [+] 10 Śaka era = 388 A. D.¹ and the date given on the silver coins of Chandragupta II is 90 [+] ×, G.E. which Allan thinks is equivalent to [319+90-10] 399 A.D.² So the date of the conquest of the

¹ Rapson, Catalogue, p. 194 f., No. 907.

² Allan, Cat. p. XXXVIII f.

Western Satraps and the issue of the silver coins by Chandragupta must be between 388 and 399 A. D. Dr. Vincent Smith assumes A. D. 395 as a mean date for the conquest of the Western Satraps, which, as the above consideration will show, is not far wide of the mark.

It is characteristic of the Gupta rulers to make wise political marriages, as part of their foreign policy. The Lichchhavi marriage of Chandragupta I had strengthened his position in Bihar.

Chandragupta II following in the footsteps of his grandfather made two important matrimonial alliances. He himself married Kuberanāgā, a princess of the Nāga lineage, and had by her a daughter named Prabhāvatī [Ep. Ind. XV, p. 41 ff. p. 416].¹ Although the Nāgas were defeated by Samudragupta, they still retained some power in Central India with Padmāvatī as its Capital. He won over the friendship of this old royal dynasty by this wise marriage. Next, he married his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā to the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II [Ib.]. We have seen [*Supra*. p. 240 f.] that in the time of Samudragupta the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I [Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription], who ruled over Bundelkhand and Central and Western Deccan, was the most powerful among the rulers of Northern India to assume leadership of the confederacy against the imperial Guptas. The Vākāṭakas were no doubt humbled by Samudragupta and deprived of much of their territory. But they still retained considerable power in the Central Deccan when Rudrasena II was ruling and Chandragupta preferred alliance to war to win his friendship. Dr. Vincent Smith rightly remarked that "the Vākāṭaka Māharāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service to the northern invader of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra [JRAS, 1914, p. 324]. The alliance was also helpful in respect of the security of the newly acquired Śaka territory of Saurāshṭra from the attack of the Vākāṭakas, its immediate south-eastern neighbours.

¹ Poona Copper-Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā.

The conquest of the Śāka territories, in the fertile regions of Western Mālwa [Ujjain], Gujarāt and Sauvāśhṭra made the Gupta empire enormously rich and brought it into direct contact with the western sea-board and its ports resulting in the expansion of its sea-borne trade. Trade with foreign countries inevitably led to the exchange of cultural ideas with them.

Results of the
Conquest.

Northern India under the Gupta rule being thus directly connected with Western India, inland trade and traffic also increased, as mercantile goods could now pass easily from north to west and vice versa without having to pay the vexatious ferries at the frontiers of intervening states. Ujjain was at that time a most important city for trade and traffic, where roads converged from different directions linking it also with the western sea-ports. Chandragupta made Ujjain his second capital and made also a religious and cultural centre of India. Probably he assumed the title of Vikramāditya after this conquest.

An outstanding event in the reign of Chandragupta II was the visit to India of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. Having travelled through the Gobi desert and the mountainous tracts of Khotan, the Pāmirs, Swāt, and Gandhāra, and enduring in the way great hardships and dangers, reached Peshāwar and visited almost all the then known places of Buddhist sanctity. From Peshāwar he entered the Punjab and moved towards south-east, visiting places like Mathurā, Samkāśya, Kanauj, Kauśāmbi, Kāśī, Kuśinārā, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Pāṭaliputra, Nālandā, etc. He then proceeded to Tāmralipti [Tamluk, in the Midnapur district] from which place he returned home by sea visiting on his homeward journey Ceylon and Java. He set out from his home in 399 A. D. and returned home in 414 A. D. Thus his itinerary lasted 15 years, of which he actually spent in India 7 years (405-411]. During this long sojourn in India Fa-hien noticed and recorded in his diary principally the places of Buddhist sanctity with which he was primarily interested. Those records with their minute details of the route and location of their past history and present condition, amplified two centuries later by a more elaborate

account left of those and other places by the next Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang [7th. century A.D.], have been of immense service to modern archaeologists to identify those sites for excavation. The pilgrim, however, incidentally recorded here and there certain facts regarding the life and general condition of the people which may be pieced together to get an idea of the state of the country as obtained in his time.

Regarding Pāṭaliputra where he stayed for three years learning Sanskrit, his records are both useful and interesting, showing that even in the fifth century A. D. this ancient city retained its splendour as an imperial capital and its importance as a great centre of learning and religion.

Pataliputra He says that there existed in the city two large and beautiful monasteries one of the Hinayāna faith, and the other of the Mahāyāna. Each was tenanted by six or seven thousand learned monks who taught thousands of students who flocked to them from all parts of India. The splendour of the royal palace built by Aśoka and which evidently still remained intact, amazed him. The pilgrim says: "The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed and which piled up the stones and reared the walls and gates, executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work in a way which no human being of the world could accomplish."¹ He found the city prosperous and its residents endowed with public spirit, so much so, that they "vied with one another in the practice and benevolences." He says that the heads of the Vaiśya families established houses for dispensing charity and medicine. He found in the city excellent hospitals, endowed by nobles and householders, in which the poor patients received free food and treatment. The pilgrim also witnessed a grand procession of richly decorated images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas which the people of the city organised every year on the eighth day of the second month. There were no less than twenty cars, constructed on the same pattern but differently and beautifully painted, on which these figures were carried.

We get an idea of the state of society and religion in the middle kingdom [Madhyadeśa, ruled by Chandragupta II] from the pilgrim's incidental records. He says that the people were numerous

and happy. The bulk of the people were
 Society and vegetarian and followed the principle of
 Religion

Ahiṃsā [non-injury to animals]. They kept no
 wineshops in their market-places or pigs and fowls in their
 homes. They did not eat meat, onions or garlic, nor drank
 wine. The Chāṇḍālas, who were social outcastes, were the
 only people who hunted and ate flesh, etc. He stated that
 the cowrie shells were 'the only articles used in buying and
 selling'. This statement is apparently wrong. It proably
 refers to small transactions which the pilgrim had occasions
 to make. He does not seem to have met with gold coins
 which would only be required for large transactions. That
 they were actually in currency we know from references to dona-
 tions of 'dināras' and 'Suvarṇas' in the inscriptions (Allan].
 That the people in general had no want and little criminal tendency
 is testified to by the pilgrim when he says that he was 'never
 molested on the highroads.' Rest-houses on the highways pro-
 vided ample and comfortable accommodations. The climate
 was temperate and free from frost and snow.

Fa-hien was a Buddhist monk and pilgrim and he came to India with the holy purpose of visiting the Buddhist shrines and collecting Buddhist manuscripts. He therefore speaks more enthusiastically of Buddhism than of other faiths. Buddhism, according to him, was in a 'flourishing condition' in the Punjab, Bengal and Mathurā. In the last place the pilgrim saw as many as twenty establishments. Buddhist law of life—abstinence from killing and eating of flesh was generally observed. Hinayānism and Mahāyānism flourished side by side. Yet it was clear that Buddhism was in decaying state in middle India where in each of its principal towns the pilgrim saw just one or two monasteries only, and sometimes even more. That Brāhmaṇism prevailed here is clear from the fact that its ruler was a Vaishṇava as the evidence of his coins and inscriptions show. But perfect toleration was observed by the Gupta ruler and the 'Brāhmaṇ heretics' and Buddhist

lived together in the best of relations. Innumerable Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Gupta period which still exist and the epigraphic records of gifts to the Buddhist community even by government officials [C. I. I. vol. III no. 5] bear testimony to this fact.

We gather from Fa-hien an idea of the nature of the government of Chandragupta II, although he does not mention his name. People lived happily under a sensible government which followed the policy of 'let alone' [*Laissez faire*]. He was happy to find that 'the people had not to register their households or to attend any magistrates or rulers.' The character of the government was extremely mild and non-interfering in refreshing contrast to the paternal type of the Mauryan administration. If the people wanted to go they went, if they wanted to stay they stayed on without being required to secure pass-ports or register their names. The king's government went on with the fewest and mildest of laws. Most crimes were punished only by fines varying in amounts according to the gravity of the offence. Capital punishment was unknown. Mutilation was the highest punishment given for repeated rebellions. Revenue was generally derived from crown lands. Royal officers being regularly paid with fixed and handsome salaries did not oppress the people with extra exactions.

Besides the above account given by Fa-hien, the Basārṇ Seals¹ and other inscriptions inform us of the machinery of government which existed in the time of Chandragupta II and his successors.

The King was at the head of the government and was assisted by ministers [*Mantrins*] whose office was often hereditary [*Anvaya-prāpta-Sāchivya*].² Some of them, e. g., the minister of war and peace [*Sāndhi Vighraṭika*] accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field

¹ Ancient Vaiśālī. The site was excavated by Mr. Bloch who submitted his report in 1903 [Ann. Rep. Arch. surv. 1903-04, pp. 101-20].

² Udayagiri Cave Ins. No. 2 of Śāba [C. I. I. III, No. 6].

[Ib.]. Some of them combined many offices or held different offices at different times. For example, Harisheṇa is designated in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta as his 'Sāndhi-Vigrahika' [Minister of war and peace], 'Kumārāmātya' [of the status of a Kumāra or a junior minister whose father is alive], 'Mahādan-dānyaka' [Chief of the police with power of judging criminal cases].

The empire was divided into a number of provinces designated as *Bhuktis* or *Deśas* which were placed under governors called 'Uparika-Mahārājas or *Goptris* appointed by Provincial Govern- the sovereign. They were often princes of the ment. royal blood. For example in the Baśārḥ seals we find Govindagupta, a son of Chandragupta II, as the Governor of Tīrabhukti [Tirhut, Bihār].¹ We get from the inscriptions the names of the following provinces, e.g. Puṇḍravardhanabhukti, Tīrabhukti, Nagarabhukti, Srāvastibhukti and Ahichchhatrabhukti, Sukulideśa and Surāshṭra.

Each province [Bhukti or deśa] was subdivided into *Vishayas* or *Pradeśas*. A Vishaya was equivalent to a modern district and its officer was called Vishayapati with his headquarters known as *Adhisṭhāna*. The office of the Vishayapati District Adminis- was held by imperial officials like Kumārāmātyas tration. [Damodarpur Plates] and feudatory Mahārājas [Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Buddha Gupta]. The Vishayapatis were generally recruited by, and acted under, the Uparikas or Governors of provinces. For instance, in the Dāmodarpur-plates² the Vishayapati of Kotivarsha was appointed [*tanniyuktaka*] by the Uparika of Puṇḍravardhana [Rājshāhi-Dinājpur Divisions, Bengal]. There are references to similar Vishayapatis of Airkiṇa and Tripuri³. But it appears that some Vishayapatis were also appointed by and acted directly under the Emperor as the Indor Copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta [*Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 219] suggests.

¹ Arch. Surv. Ind. A. R. 1903-04, pp. 102, 107.

² Ep. Ind. XV, pp. 130, 133.

³ Cf. PHAI, 3rd. ed. p. 381.

Here, Sarvanāga, the Vishayapati of Antarvedī, is described as appointed [*tatpāda-parigribita*] by the Emperor. Antarvedī is known in tradition as the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Hardwār. This Do-ab region forms most part of the present Western U. P. Indor, modern Bulandshahr Dist., the find-spot of this record, evidently the seat of the District Administration, actually lies in this Antarvedī [Do-ab]. Probably, Antarvedī was within the home province of the empire, directly governed by the Emperor himself without the help of an Uparika. The head-quarters where the office [adhikaraṇa] of a Vishayapati was located, was called adhishthāna. An interesting side-light is thrown on the nature of the district administration by the Dāmodarpur plates where a number of functionaries are mentioned as helping the vishaya-pati in his work. They are *Nagara-Śreshthī* [the chief banker of the city or president of the city-guild], *Śārthavāha* [the chief merchant of the city, or President of merchant-guild], *Prathama-kulika* [the chief artisan or the President of the artisan guild], [*Prathama-kāyastha*] [the chief of the writer class], *Pustapāla* [keeper of records] and others. It is possible that they formed a sort of Municipal or District Board [Parishad]¹ with the chief of the writer class acting as its secretary to assist in the work of the district and town. Indeed, the function of the record-keeper is specifically mentioned as that of determining the title to the land and submitting the report to the government before any sale of it could be sanctioned [Ib.].

Every Vishaya or District was sub-divided into a number of *grāmas* or villages, being the lowest units of administration.

The Headman of the village was called *grāmika* who carried on the village administration and maintained peace and order in the village with the help of *pañchamaṇḍala* or *pañchāyat* consisting of the *grāma-vṛiddhas* [the village elders].²

¹ Dr. Bloch has found a seal at Basārī belonging to the Parishad of Udānakūpa. The Bilsāḍ Inscription [C.I.I. III, 43 f] refers to a [Parshad].

²C. I. I. III, p. 31f.

There is no doubt that the system of the government was bureaucratic, being manned by officers from the Emperor downwards. The Basārḥ seals and other inscriptions provide us with the names of various officials of the imperial government, such as the Uparika [Governor], the Sāndhivigrahika [*Supra*] Kumārāmātya [*Supra*], the Mahādanāyaka [*Supra*], the Vinayasthiti-sthāpaka [the Censor], Mahā-pratihāra [Chamberlain], and the Bhaṭṭāśvapati [Chief of the army and cavalry] and of the offices like *Dandapāsādhikaraṇa* [office of the chief of Police], *Balādhikaraṇa* [office of the Army Chief], *Raṇa-bhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa* [office of the Chief Treasurer of the war-finance], *Tīra-bhukti-Uparika-adhikaraṇa* [office of the Governor of Tīrhuṭ], and *Vaiśālyādhishṭhītādhikaraṇa* [office of the District headquarters of Vaiśālī]. The recruitment of government officials was made evidently on the basis of fitness and no sectarian bias influenced the selection. For instance, Chandragupta who was a devout Vaishṇava [*Paramabhāgavata*], his trusted general Āmrakārdava 'who had won several battles' was a Buddhist,¹ and his minister of peace and war Śāba-Vīrasena was a Śaiva.²

Besides the territories directly governed by the officials of the crown, there were vassal states and republics, owing allegiance to the Emperor, but enjoying internal autonomy.³

In the matter of coinage Chandragupta II introduced considerable originality of Type. In his reign the throned goddess is replaced by purely Indian type of a goddess seated on a lotus. The Coach Type and the Umbrella Type are original. He also introduced the Horseman Type which became so popular with his successors, also the Lion Type. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of silver currency which was considerably extended by his successors Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. He was also the first Gupta ruler to introduce silver coins.

¹ C.I.I., III, p. 31.

² *Ib.* p. 25.

³ Cf. Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta and other epigraphs.

Chandragupta II is known by at least two other names 'Devārāja' in the Sāñchī Stone Inscription [C.I.I. III, p. 31 ff.] and 'Devagupta' in the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II [C.I.I., III, p. 236 ff.]. If the Names and Titles.

Meharauli [near Delhi] Pillar Inscription refers to the third Gupta Emperor, then he is also known simply as 'Chandra' [See Appendix IV]. He bore several titles. He probably bore the title of Vikramāditya after his conquest of the Śakas. His coins bear the title of Vikramāñka, Narendra-Chandra, Siṃha-Vikrama, Siṃha-Chandra, etc. His inscriptions describe him as Parama-bhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhaṭṭāraka. He is known in tradition as Vikramāditya Sakāri of Ujjain.

He left at least two sons—Kumāragupta I who succeeded him as Emperor, and Govindagupta who was governor of

Family. Tirabhukti [Bihār], both born of his first queen

Dhruvadevī or Dhruvasvāminī. Dhruvadevī is the name which we find in the inscriptions and tradition, whereas the name Dhruvasvāminī occurs in a Basārḥ Seal as the mother of Govindagupta. A Vākātaka epigraph mentions the name of another of his wife—Kuberanāgā, whose daughter was Prabhāvatiguptā, the chief queen of the Vākātaka ruler Rudrasena, and mother of Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena¹.

¹ Ep. Ind. XV, p. 41 ff; JASB. NS. XX, 58 ff.

[APPENDIX IV]

'CHANDRA' OF THE MEHARAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION

An inscription in an iron pillar in Meharauli, a village about 9 miles south of Delhi, describes in pure Sanskrit verses written in Gupta characters of the 5th century A. D. the exploits of one 'Chandra', regarding whose lineage no information has been given, but who is most probably to be identified with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The inscription is undated and the tone of the Śloka 4 of the *praśasti* undoubtedly points to its posthumous character. The object of the epigraph was to commemorate the erection of the pillar [Vishṇudhvaja] on a hill called Vishṇupada, probably identical with the Delhi ridge. The *praśasti* records that all those enemies who confederated [*Sametyāgatā*] and attacked him [Chandra] from Bengal were defeated, that he [Chandra] fought a successful war against the Vāhlikas, by getting across the seven mouths of the river Indus and that he enjoyed the sole sovereignty of the earth [*Ekēdhirājya*] acquired by his prowess [*Svabhujaṁjita*] which he ruled for a long time [*Suchiram*].

The identification of 'Chandra' of the inscription has been the subject of unending controversy among scholars. R. G. Basak [Hist. North-Eastern India, pp. 13-18], Fleet [C.I.I. III, Int. p. 12] and Aiyangar [Studies in Gupta History, p. 24] identify Chandra with Chandragupta I. But Chandra's Vāhlika conquest would take Chandragupta I as far as Sindh. This seems to be an overestimate of the achievements of Chandragupta I. The Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudragupta shows that his father's territory was confined to the Gangetic valley from Pīṭhaliputra to Prayāga, and that the territories further north and west of Prayāga including the present Doab and possibly some portions of the Punjab were conquered by Samudragupta himself. Further, the boast of the sole sovereignty of the earth is not at all applicable to Chandragupta I's case. Paṇḍita Haraprasad

Śāstri [Ep. Ind. XII, pp. 315-21; XIII, p. 133] and R. D. Banerji [Ib. XIV, pp. 367-71] identify him with the Chandravarman of the Śusunia Rock [near Rāniganj, Bengal] Inscription. But the identification is based on insufficient grounds and has been rightly rejected by scholars. The Chandravarman of the Śusunia Rock Inscription is probably to be identified with the Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta who defeated him along with the other rulers of Āryāvarta. Dr. Raychaudhuri's suggestion [PHAI. 4th ed. p. 449, n. 1.] is a mere conjecture. A recent suggestion based on conjecture and argued forcibly [Proc. I. H. C. 1943, pp. 127-29] is that the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar is the Chandragupta Maurya and that the pillar was erected by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya in honour of his ideal hero. But the subject of the *praśasti* was undoubtedly a Vaishṇava and Chandragupta Maurya is never known to have been a Vaishṇava. He is well-known to be a disciple of Chāṇakya of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical faith and indulged in hunting as a regular pastime, until he probably became a Jaina, if the tradition preserved in the Jaina literature is to be believed. Other scholars like Vincent Smith, Dandekar and D. C. Sarkar have identified him with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya.¹ The probability is that the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription is Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The following facts may be considered in favour of his identification:

- [1] that the name of Chandragupta II also occurs as simply Chandra in his copper coins;
- [2] that he went on a *digvijaya* [Udaigiri, Cave Ins. 2] as is suggested in the Meharauli record.
- [3] that he was lord of an empire;
- [4] that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and
- [5] that he was a Vaishṇava.

The passage in which it is stated that 'he crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered Vāhlika [Balkh], should not offer any difficulty. The "seven mouths" of the Indus undoubtedly mean the rivers of the Punjab and Vāhlika has

¹ EHI; History of the Guptas; S. I. p. 275, n. 1.

been placed by Bhandarkar on the Vipāśā [Beas] on the strength of a Rāmāyaṇa verse [II 68, 18-19] and Vishṇupada hill is said to be in its vicinity [Vishṇupadaṁ preshamāṇā Vipāśām Chāpi Śālmalim; Ib]. Tarn says that the word Vāhlika [Bactrian] was already in use in India for some of the semi-foreign peoples of the Indian North-West. [G. B. I., p. 125]. He further elaborates his thesis as follows: "Many of the peoples of the North-West had been immigrants from Iran or elsewhere, and some were not yet fully Indianised; some North-Iranian names occur in the Alexander-story, some words are found in the Punjab and Indian writers classed all these semi-foreign peoples together as Vāhlikas [Bactrians], a term which in a narrow sense meant the Bhallas west of the Jhelum [Ib. p. 169]. Thus the word Vāhlika used here in the inscription may not necessarily mean the people of Bactria proper but some of those semi-foreign people who lived somewhere in the Punjab. This location is definitely settled by an epic reference. In the Mahābhārata [Ādiparva] we find Śalya, king of the Madra country with its capital at Śākala [Sialkot] is called the Lord of the Vāhlika and his sister Mādri is called Vāhlikī. The Madradeśa was the region between the Chenab and the Beas. The tribes of the Vāhlikas settled between those two rivers are believed to have migrated southwards to the Indus. It is in this region of the Indus that they were conquered by Chandragupta II who had to cross the 'seven mouths' of the Indus for this purpose. It may be that the pillar was originally erected on this Vishṇupada hill as recorded in the inscription and subsequently transferred by some energetic ruler of Delhi as Smith suggests [EHI, p. 401]. We have seen [*Supra*] that Firozshah removed two of Aśoka's pillars from Ambala and Meerut to Delhi. There being no doubt as to the posthumous character of the inscriptions, Dr. Sarkar rightly suggests that "the pillar was probably set up by Chandragupta II at the end of his life and the record was engraved by Kumāragupta I, soon after his father's death."¹ If the identification of Chandra with Chandragupta II

¹ S. I., p. 277, n. 1.

is correct, as seems quite probable, two important facts can be deduced from the inscription:

[1] that Bengal the Chronic seat of rebellion found in the long history of India, rebelled against Chandragupta II who suppressed it;

[2] Chandragupta II destroyed the remnants of the Śaka and the Kushāṇa power in the North-West which Samudragupta did only partially. According to Allan the 'Vāhlikas' was used in a general sense to signify a body of foreign invaders [Allan, p. XXXVI]

KUMĀRAGUPTA I [c. 414-455 A. D.]

Kumāragupta succeeded his father Chandragupta II. A large number of his dated inscriptions and coins enable us to fix his reign-period with more or less certainty. His earliest date on record [Bilsāḍ Inscription] is G. E. 96=A.D. 415. The latest date found on his silver coins is G. E. 136=A.D. 455.¹ We also know that the earliest recorded date of Kumāragupta's son and successor Skandagupta is 136 G. E.=A. D. 455 [Jūnāgaḍ Rock Inscription]. Therefore, Kumāragupta's reign period definitely falls between 414 or 415 to 455 A. D.

The provenance of his inscriptions and the names of Governors found there give us an indication of the extent of territory ruled by him. They show that he was able to maintain the strength and unity of the empire. The variety and number of his coins—both gold and silver—point to the peace and prosperity of his reign, until about the end of his life when wars disturbed the peace as will be stated later. According to a Basārh seal his brother Govindagupta was Governor of Tīrabhukti [Bihar] with Vaiśālī as its capital [*Supra*]. This office he probably held from the time of his father Chandragupta II. A Mandasor record of the Mālava year

¹ JASB, 1894, p. 135.

524 [=468 A. D.] of Dattabhaṭṭa, son of Govindagupta's general Vāyurakshita shows that he [Mahārāja Govindagupta] was later appointed viceroy of Mālwā by Kumārāgupta¹. The Dāmodarpur

Chirātadatta. Plates of G. E. in years 124 and 128 show that

his Governor of Puṇḍravardhana [North Bengal] was Chirātadatta.² The Tumbavana or Tumbain [Gwalior State] inscription of the G. E. 116 informs us that Ghaṭotka-

Ghbatotkacha chagupta was Governor of the eastern part of Gupta.

Central India, when Kumārāgupta was reigning. The inscription refers to Chandragupta II who conquered the earth as far as the ocean, to his son Kumārāgupta I and to Ghaṭotkacha Gupta 'who won by the prowess of his arms the good fame of his ancestors' [lb.]. This clearly shows that he was a Gupta prince and probably a son of Kumārāgupta. He may be identical with his namesake of the Basārḥ seal [*Supra*], and the name found on the coin in the St. Petersburg collection which bears on the obverse beneath the king's arm the word 'Ghaṭa' and a marginal legend ending in Gupta [=kacha gupta] legend 'Kramāditya'? [See, Allan, Cat. p. 149, PL. XXIV, No. 3, Intro. p. LIV]. If the legend has been rightly read, it is clear that Ghaṭotkachagupta assumed the title of Kramāditya during the short period of his independent rule, a title afterwards assumed by Skandagupta when evidently he received his first training as an administrator holding some office at Vaiśālī in the court of his uncle Govindagupta as the Basārḥ seal shows, before he became his father's viceroy of the eastern part of Central India. Dr. Sircar suggests [S. I. p. 299, n. 1] that he was probably one of the rivals who contended for the throne with Skandagupta. If it is true, he must have enjoyed a short span of independence during which period he was able to issue a very limited number of coins, only one of which has hitherto been traced. The Karamdāṇḍā [Faizabad Distr., U. P.] Inscription of G. E. 177 shows that his

¹ S. I., p. 298. n. 1.

² C.I.I., III, p. 46 f., p. 81 f.

Governor of Oudh was Pṛithvisena Kumārāmātya, who was also a Mahābalādhikṛta [an Army General].

Kumārāgupta's coins show that he performed the Aśvamedha Ceremony. His coins of the Aśvamedha type with the legend "Śrī Aśvamedha Mahendra" on the reverse prove it. Allan suggests that he assumed this title after performing the horse-sacrifice. His other titles found on his coins are Narendra, Vikramāṅka, Vikramāditya, Siṃha Vikraja, Siṃha Chandra, etc. But he is generally known as Kumārāgupta Mahendrāditya.

The last years of Kumārāgupta's reign were visited by a war with the Pushyamitras. The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription [C.I.I., p. 53 f.] informs us that Skandagupta defeated the Pushyamitras who had risen to great power and wealth [Samudritabala-Kośān-Pusyamitrāmścha]. In this fight the crown-prince was reduced to great strait and had to spend nights lying on bare earth. Having ultimately conquered his enemies and restored [pratiśthāpya] the fallen fortunes of dynasty [Viplutām Varṇśa-lakshmīm] he returned to break the news to his weeping mother, his father having died meanwhile [pitari divaṃ upete] 'as the victorious Krishṇa had done it to Devakī' [Ib.]. Mr. Divekar [ABRI., 1919, p. 99 II ff.] differs from Fleet's reading and suggests that the word 'Pushyamitrāmścha' should be read as 'Yudhyamitrāmścha' i.e., the amitras [enemies] engaged in war [Yudhi]. If this reading is correct it would mean that Skandagupta had to fight a civil war which took place after his father's death, but it appears from the inscription that his father was alive when he fought the Pushyamitras. Moreover, a people called the Pushyamitras is known from the Purāṇas [Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV, 24-17].

Kumārāgupta I was a staunch Brāhmanist. He introduced the worship of a new god, Kārtikeya [Cf. his coin of the peacock type and the Bhitari Stone Inscription], but continued the worship of other gods like the Sun, Śiva, and Viṣṇu, to each of which the epigraphs of his time record benefactions. He followed his ancestor's policy of toleration. For instance, there

Aśvamedha
sacrifice

War with the
Pushyamitras

Religious bene-
factions and tole-
ration.

are records of the setting up of the Buddha images [Cf. Mankuwar Inscription of G. E. 129] and benefactions to the Buddhist Saṅghas [Cf. Sāñchī Stone Inscription of G. E. 131].

SKANDAGUPTA KRAMĀDITYA

[C. 455-467 A.D.]

Skandagupta ascended the throne after his father's death and assumed the title of Kramāditya. His silver coins also bear the title of Vikramāditya. It is probable his
 Civil war accession was not wholly uncontested. We know from inscriptions that he had at least two other brothers. One was Ghaṭotkachagupta and the other Puragupta [Bhitari Seal Inscription].¹ The latter ascended the throne after Skandagupta's death. His mother was Anantadevī. We have seen that Ghaṭotkachagupta was his father's viceroy in Central India [*Supra*, p. 264]. If the coin of the Petersburg collection is to be ascribed to him, he must have assumed sovereign power after his father's death and contested the imperial throne against his brother. The coin bears the legend 'Kramāditya' on the reverse with the name of Ghaṭotkacha on the obverse. This is the title which Skandagupta also bore. Probably Skandagupta assumed it after he had finally defeated his brother Ghaṭotkachagupta who temporarily bore this title. Ghaṭotkachagupta probably died during the lifetime of Skandagupta, but Puragupta survived him and later succeeded him, as Skandagupta died without any issue. The Bhitari seal which provides the name of Puragupta and his genealogy omits the name of Skandagupta. This glaring omission of the name of such a great king from the genealogical list by the grandson of Skandagupta's brother Puragupta shows that the relation between Puragupta and Skandagupta was none too cordial and this hostile feeling was shared by the princes

¹ Indian Antiquary, XIX; 1890, p. 225; JASB, lviii, pt. 1., p. 89.

of the Puragupta line. It suggests that there was a war of rivalry between the two brothers or half-brothers. It is probable that one or both the brothers of Skandagupta, contested the throne against him after his father's death. There is no doubt that Skandagupta, being the ablest among the sons was his father's favourite¹ and was put in command of the imperial army to fight the Pushyamitras. Line 12 of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription suggests that his father died when he was fighting the Pushyamitras and was away from the capital. His father's death and his absence from the capital gave his internal enemies, possibly his rival brother, the opportunity to rise against their father's nominee to the throne. Lines 13 and 14 of the inscription show that when he returned to the palace after his victories over the enemies he found his mother weeping and in distress. Her condition might have been due to the scene of her husband's death, or the shock of internecine quarrel among the near kinsmen which possibly led to her imprisonment. The analogy of Devakī being approached by Kṛishṇa after his victory suggests her imprisonment, possibly by Puragupta, her step son. There is no doubt, however, that Skandagupta pardoned his defeated brothers, for he reports to his mother that he showed mercy to the vanquished enemies who were in distress [*Jītesvārteshu kṛitvā dayāṃ*]. This act or pardon should refer to his internal enemies, possibly his brothers and kinsmen, rather than to the Pushyamitras who did not deserve any consideration of this kind.

The last recorded date on Kumāragupta's silver coins is 455

and that on Skandagupta's coins is 467 A.D.

Reign period. These two dates being the fixed points of his chronology represent the period of his reign.

The Bhitari Pillar Inscription refers to the Hūṇas whom Skandagupta defeated in a sanguinary contest [*Hūṇairyaśya samāgatasya samare dorbhyāṃ dharā kampitā, bhīmavarta karasya*]. These nomadic Central Asian tribes, of whom we shall hear more later,

Invasion of the
Hunas.

¹ Cf. "Pitṛi parigata pāda padma-vartī, prathityaśāh, prithvī-patiḥ sutoyajī" etc. *Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription* of Skandagupta [C. I. I., III, p. 52 f.].

appeared for the first time on the Indian soil, through its north-western gate and attacked the Gupta Empire. It is possible that these Hūṇas are referred to in the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skandagupta as 'mlechchhas.' In that case the battle with the Hūṇas must have been fought somewhere about 136-138 G. E. the date given in the inscription.

The Junāgaḍh Inscription [C. I. I., III, p. 58 f.] tells us that Skandagupta's governor of Saurāshṭra was Paṇḍaṭṭa and his son Chakrapālita was in charge of the city of Girnār. The famous Sudarśana Lake in Girnār again burst its banks. The embankments, as we have seen, were built by Chandragupta Maurya for the purpose of irrigation, improved by Aśoka and repaired by Rudradāman. This time Chakrapālita repaired the damages in about 456 A.D. and constructed a Viṣṇu temple in 458 A.D. to commemorate the event.

The Province of
Saurashtra.

Repair of the
Sudarśana Lake.

THE LATER GUPTA EMPERORS PURAGUPTA

With the death of Skandagupta passed away the last of the great gupta emperors. Skandagupta evidently left no son to succeed him. The Bhitārī seal Inscription² reveals the name of Puragupta as a son of Kumāragupta and Anantadevī, and as one who succeeded his father to the throne. The inscription omits the name of Skandagupta for reasons discussed above [*Supra*, pp. 265-67]. But we know that Skandagupta was the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I, and, therefore, Puragupta must have come to the throne after Skandagupta, the latter having left no son. The inscription also reveals the name of his son Narasiṃhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta II, who was the author of the inscription. The inscription does not give us any information about the exploits of Puragupta, if any at all.

¹ Also read as Pūrugupta,

Vide Nālandā Seal.

² JASB, 1889, pt. I. p. 89.

Allan [Cat. p. 134 Pl. XXI, No. 23] describes a gold coin of Puragupta with legend "Pura" on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and "Sri Vikramah" or Vikramāditya on the reverse.¹ Allan identifies him with the king Vikramāditya of Ajodhyā, father of Bālāditya who came under the influence of the famous Buddhist philosopher and writer Vasubandhu and patronised Buddhism. If the identification is correct, Puragupta had his capital at Ajodhyā.

NARASIṂHAGUPTA BĀLĀDITYA

Puragupta's son and successor was Narasiṃhagupta. His mother's name was Chandanadevī.² His coins show that he assumed the title of Bālāditya.³ But he is not to be identified with the Bālāditya, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, who defeated the Hūṇas under Mihirkula, as has been done by some scholars. The father of Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya was Tathāgata and his son was Vajra, whereas according to the genealogical epigraph of the Bhitari Seal Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya's father was Puragupta and his son was Kumāragupta II. Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya, the conquerer of Mihirakula, must be some one else. Several kings of Madhyadeśa bore the *viruda* of Bālāditya. The Sārnāth Inscription of Prakaśāditya [C.I.I., III, P. 285] shows that two Bālādityas of his dynasty reigned. The Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman [Ep. Ind. 1929] mentions the name of a Bālāditya.

KUMĀRAGUPTA II

Narasimha Bālāditya was succeeded to the throne by his son Kumāragupta and his chief queen Devī⁴. According to the

¹ The reading has, however, been challenged by Mr. Sarasi Kumar Sarasvatī who reads "Budha" for "Pura" [Indian] Culture, Vol. I., p. 691 f.].

² Fleet reads Vatsadevī Cf. N. P. Chakravarty [Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 77] who gives good reasons for correct reading of the name.

³ Allan, Cat. p. 137 f.

⁴ Fleet reads Mahālakshmi Devī. Cf. S. I. p. 322, n. 4.

Sārnāth Buddha Image Inscription of the Gupta year 154 [JRAS, 1914-15, XV. p. 124]. Kumāragupta was reigning in A.D. 473. Dr. Nalin Bhattasāli and Dr. R. G. Basak think that the Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription is different from the Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal. The former argues that Kumāragupta, father of Narasimhagupta, reigned long after the fifth century A.D. [Dacca Review, May and June 1920]. This view of Dr. Bhattasāli was inevitable in view of his theory that Narasimha Bālāditya is identical with the conqueror of Mihirakula—a theory which, as we have seen [*Supra*] is of doubtful value. The date of Sārnāth inscription shows that Kumāragupta's reign began at least from 473 A.D., and the earliest recorded date of his successor Budhagupta found in another Buddha image at Sārnāth—[JRAS, 1914-15, pp. 124-25] shows that it ended on or before GE. 157=476 A. D. Kumāragupta was a devout Vaishṇava. The Sārnāth inscription describes him as '*parama bhāgavata*', a title used by the Vaishṇavas. The image of Garuḍa in his Bhitari seal also proves his Vaishṇava faith. The Sun temple at Daśapura [Mandsor] of the guild silk-weavers of the city, which was originally constructed in the reign of Kumāragupta I in the Mālava era 493-436-37 A. D. was repaired in his reign in Mālava year 529-472-73 A.D. [C.I.I., III p. 81 ff.].

BUDHAGUPTA

The next Gupta ruler who came to the throne after Kumāragupta II is Budhagupta. His name and date is found on another Buddha image inscription at Sārnāth [ASAR, 1914-15, pp. 124-25]. The inscription is dated GE. 157=476 A.D., when he was on the throne. This shows that the total reign-period of the three previous Gupta rulers mentioned in the Bhitari seal inscription was only 7 or 8 years. The relation between Budhagupta and his predecessor on the throne Kumāragupta is not known. It may be he was the youngest son of Kumāragupta I and as such a cousin of Kumāragupta II. The reason for this surmise is that he is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the son of Śakrāditya. 'Śakra' is the

sanskrit equivalent of 'Mahendra,' and the only predecessor of Budhagupta who had that title was Kumāragupta I who bore the epithet Mahendrāditya [= Śākrāditya]. A large number of dated epigraphs and coins and their provenance show that he had a comparatively long period of reign [C. 476-495 A. D.], and ruled over an extensive territory which extended from Bengal to Central India including the U. P. The Dāmodarpur [Dinajpur, N. Bengal] Copper-plate inscription, [Ep. Ind. XV, p. 135 f.] shows that Budhagupta's viceroy [Uparika-Mahārāja] of Puṇḍravardhana [North Bengal] was Brahmadatta. The Sārnāth Inscription [Ib.] proves his sovereignty over Kāśī. The Eraṇ Stone pillar Inscription of G.E. 165 = A. D. 484 [C. I. I., III, p. 89 f.] proves his sovereignty over the Central Provinces in that year. The Airikina [Eraṇ] Vishaya was ruled by his feudatory. His territories in the eastern part of Central India between the Kālinadī and the Narmadā were governed by a Mahārāja Suraśmi Chandra. The Eraṇ Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa and Dhanyavishṇu, younger brother of Mātrivishṇu shows the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūṇas during the reign of his successor Bhānugupta [C. I. I. III, p. 159 f.]. He continued the types of silver coinage of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, and their dates show that he reigned up to A. D. 495.

SUCCESSORS OF BUDHAGUPTA

The Eraṇ Inscription of A. D. 510 [C. I. I. III, p. 92 f.] shows that while *Bhānugupta* was reigning, his general Goparāja died fighting. The Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of the year of Toramāṇa's reign shows that the Hūṇa king was the sovereign of Eraṇ and Dhanyavishṇu was his vassal, as his brother Mātrivishṇu had been the vassal of Budhagupta [C. I. I. III, p. 89]. From this it is reasonable to suppose that Goparāja died fighting the Hūṇas in 510 A.D., in which year Bhānugupta lost Eraṇ to the Hūṇas. The relationship between Budhagupta and Bhānugupta is not known. A seal and coin name *Vishnugupta* was probably a direct successor of Kumāragupta II or III.

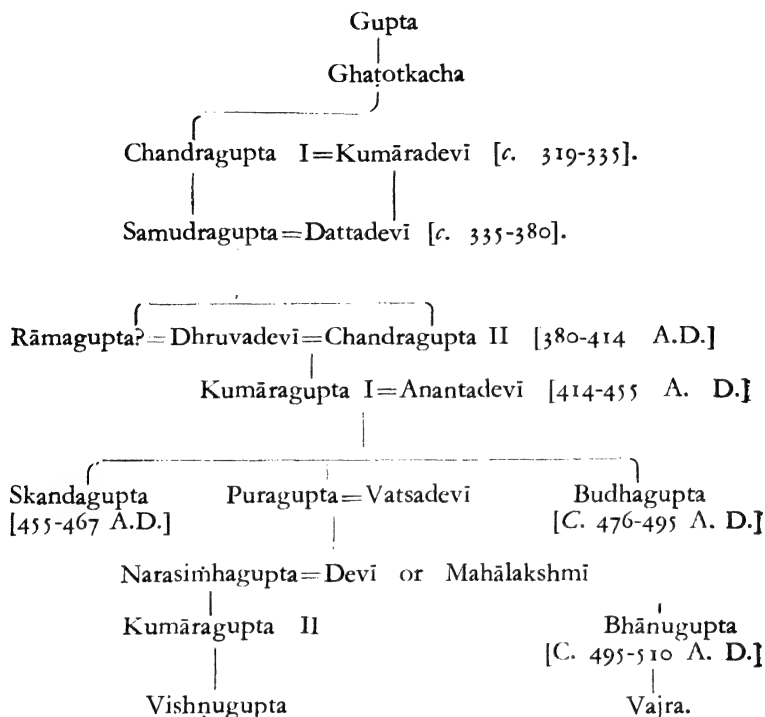
The Gunaighar [Tippara Distt. S. E. Bengal] Copper-plate inscription of *Vainyagupta* shows that another Gupta ruler was reigning in Bengal about the year 507 A.D.¹ It is not impossible that when Bhānugupta was ruling the Western and Central part of India representing the line of Puragupta, Bhānugupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire. Vainyagupta's relation with either Bhānugupta or Budhagupta is also unknown. He is described in the Gunaighar plate as possessing a navy, which guarded his riparian territories in the South-East Bengal. He has been called in the inscription a 'Mahārāja.' But this does not prove that Vainya was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as 'Mahārājādhirāja.' His dominion possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihar. He was a devotee of Śiva [Ib.], but retained in his coinage the family symbol of 'Garuḍadhvaja' which is indication of Vaishnavism.

Yuan Chwang mentions a Gupta ruler, *Vajra*, and calls him the son of Bālāditya whose father was Tathāgatagupta. He further says that Bālāditya defeated Mihirakula [*Supra*]. We do not know who Tathāgatagupta really is. Dr. Raychaudhuri thinks that Bālāditya was probably a *viruda* of Bhānugupta whose general Goparāja died fighting a famous battle in 510 A.D.² There is no doubt, however, that Bhānugupta [Bālāditya] was a contemporary of Mihirakula and his son Vajra succeeded him, after his death. Nothing more is known about Vajra. He is probably the last king of the imperial Gupta line.

A genealogical tree of the imperial Gupta rulers is given below as constructed from genealogical epigraphs. They have been mentioned according to the chronological order. The sign [:] does not show any relationship.

¹ IHQ, VI, p. 45 ff.

² PHAI, pp. 401—02.



THE GUPTA PERIOD : A GOLDEN AGE

With the fall of the Gupta empire ended a glorious chapter of Hindu rule. The Guptas founded a rich and prosperous empire. The good government which the first two great Emperors of the dynasty, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, had established, and the consequent peace and order which prevailed during their long rule worked as congenial soil for the growth of the finer aspects of civilisation, e.g., science, religion, art and literature which found a further impetus by the rule and a perfected machinery of administration. The enlightened character of government guaranteed perfect freedom of religion and mode of life, as well as the Emperor's personal interest in ungrudging patronage of those things. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Gupta age is known as the golden age of the

Hindu rule and has been rightly compared by many writers to the Age of Pericles of Greece and the Elizabethan Age of England.

RELIGION : REVIVAL OF BRĀHMANISM

In the matter of religion, the Gupta Emperors were Brāhmaṇists with special predilection for the worship of Viṣṇu. Consequently Brāhmaṇism was revived under royal patronage. The epigraphs and coins tell of other gods and goddesses worshipped, e.g., Gadādhara, Janārdana, Śiva, Kārtikeya and Sūrya, Lakshmi, Durgā, Pārvatī, etc. Revival of Brāhmaṇism naturally brought back to life sacrifices, private or public, and we hear in the epigraphs the performance of such sacrifices as Aśvamedha, Vājpeya, Agnishṭoma, etc., etc.

Withal their personal adherence to Brāhmaṇism, the Gupta rulers showed exemplary toleration to other forms of faith, e.g., Buddhism and Jainism. Their subjects enjoyed full freedom of conscience. Consequently Buddhism and Jainism also flourished side by side with Brāhmaṇism. Private and royal gifts to Buddhist monasteries and Jaina temples and installations of the statues of the Buddha and Tīrthaṅkaras, are on record. Āmrakārdava, a general of Chandragupta II was a Buddhist and he is recorded to have made a gift of money to the Buddhist Vihāra of Kākaṇādaboṭa which was the old name of the Sāñchi region [C.I.I., III, p. 31f.]. A large number of Gupta Buddha and Bodhisattva images discovered in different parts of India, especially in the sites of Sārnāth, Mathurā and Nālandā, testify to the religious freedom enjoyed by the Buddhists under Gupta rule. The great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā was founded according to the Buddhist traditions by Śakrāditya [Kumāra, gupta I] in the fifth century A.D. and additional buildings and grants were made by Budhagupta, Bālāditya and other Gupta rulers. Withal this, there is no doubt that Buddhism lost its old vitality and showed signs of decline. Fa-hien's statement that there was no visible sign of decline must be taken with a grain of salt. This decline was inevitable chiefly for three reasons:

[1] lack of royal patronage, [2] corruption which just started entering the Buddhist Saṃghas, especially of the Mahāyānists,¹ and [3] absorption of the Buddhist pantheon in the roomy fold of Brāhmanism which included even Buddha himself as one of its avatāras [incarnations].

The revival of sacrificial worships with their attendant constructions of altars or *Vedis* of different shapes and *Yupas* led to the development of Geometry. The

Science finding of auspicious moments for sacrifices, etc., led to the assiduous study of the heavenly planets and their conjunctions. This naturally developed into the science of Astronomy and Mathematics. As a matter of fact the great astronomer Ārya-bhaṭṭa [born in C. 476 A.D.] and the great astrologer Varāhamihira [505-87 A.D.] flourished in this age and made notable contributions to these branches of scientific study.

The Gupta monarchs, themselves highly cultured, liberally patronised literature and art. Samudragupta has been described in the Allahabad inscription as a gifted poet

Literature and musician. Naturally a number of intellectual celebrities flourished in this favourable atmosphere. Tradition associates the nine gems (nava-ratna) with the Vikarmāditya of Ujjain. There is no doubt that in the Gupta court gathered a coterie of which the shining light was the famous Kālidāsa.² Who wrote a number of such excellent dramas like the *Śakuntalā*, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvaśī*, epics like the *Raghuvaṃśa*, and lyric poetry like the

¹ For details see *Supra*, Ch. IV.

² Distinguished savants have by their laborious researches pulled the date of Kālidāsa out of the realm of doubts and controversy. Macdonells [History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 323, 251; A.B. Keith [Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 31-32 and JARS. 1909]; R.G. Bhandarkar [JBRAS, XX], D.R. Bhandarkar [Annals of Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-27, Vol. VIII, pt. X]; V. Smith (E H I, 3rd. ed. p. 304, n.) all argue for Kālidāsa to be in the Gupta Period. However, Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya [Allahabad University Studies II, 1926, pp. 79-170] argues for the first century B. C. and Mr. T. J. Kedar [Nagpur University, Journal, No. 5, Dec. 1939] places him in the Śunga period.

Ritu-Saṁbhārā and the *Meghaduta*. Harishena was a great poet as the language and style of his *praśasti* on Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar shows. Another poet Vatsabhaṭṭi was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I and II [C.I.I. III, p. 81 ff.] Virasena Śāba of Pāṭaliputra, a high official and member of the Court of Chandragupta II is described as a great grammarian, politician and poet [Ib. p. 35]. It is possible that Subandhu, the reputed author of the *Vāsavadattā*, flourished in the Gupta period. He was certainly a predecessor of Bāṇabhaṭṭa [700 A.D.] who mentions his book in the *Kādambari*. "The well-known Buddhist writers, Asaṅga, the author of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, the *Mahāyāna Samparigraha* [translated in Chinese by Parmārtha] and other similar works and his brother Achārya Vasubandhu, who wrote several books on Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy, e.g., *Mahāyāna Sutrālaṁkāra Tīkā*, *Madhyānta-vibhāga bhāṣya* etc. and also on Hinayāna philosophy, e.g., *Abhidharma Kośa*, etc. and Dīghanāga, the author of the *Pramāṇa Samuccaya*, etc., were the most distinguished among the Buddhist writers of the age. Parmārtha [499-560 A.D.] was another Buddhist saint and scholar who also wrote a biography of Vasubandhu, shortly after the latter's death. According to most scholars Visākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣha*, and Amarāśiṁha, the author of the *Amarakośa* belonged to the Gupta Age. Several *Purāṇas* received their final recension and several *Smṛitis*, and commentaries on the *sūtras* were composed in this period. Writers on scientific subjects, e.g. Āryabhaṭṭa Varāhmihira have already been noticed.

Up to the time of the Guptas, epigraphs are generally found written in prakrits. But with the revival of Brāhmaṇism the use and influence of Sanskrit also revived with the result that in the official and private epigraphs as well as in coin legends Sanskrit replaced prakrit. Sanskrit instead of Pāli became also the vehicle of expression of even Buddhist writers.

In the domain of fine arts, the Gupta period reached a high level of excellence. Music received a liberal share of royal patronage especially of Samudragupta who was himself a skilful musician.

The allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting flourished equally under the patronage of the Gupta rulers. The sculpture of the Gupta age reveals exquisite beauty of execution and a high degree of skill possessed by its workmen. A large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Gupta period have been discovered in the different excavated sites of India and in the largest number in Sārnāth. A study of these figures shows that the indigenous art of image making of men and deities reached its highest water-mark surpassing the Kushāṇa school of art as well as the partly exotic art of Gandhāra. The Gupta images in different attitudes [*Mudrās*] reveal a more spiritual calmness of face and eyes than is found for example in their Kushāṇa and Gandhāra counterparts. The standing Bodhisattva and other images show a new development of diaphanous folds of garment round their proportionate, symmetrical bodies expressive of a higher taste. Unfortunately few Gupta buildings have survived the destruction carried on by the Hūṇas and Muslim invaders, but the few that exist testify to the fact that the Gupta architecture and sculpture attained an equally high excellence. The stone temple of Devagarh in the Jhansi district, and the brick temple of Bhitargaon near Cawnpore with their exquisite carvings on the panels of the walls are fine examples of Gupta architecture and sculpture. The Gupta age, as already noticed [p. 275], saw the revival of Brāhmaṇism which found full expression in the architectural activity of the period which produced Brāhmaṇic temples in large numbers. Among those which survived the following are well-known: (1) The Dasāvātāra temple at Devagarh, (2) the temple at Bhitargaon, (3) Viṣṇu temple at Tīgawa [Jubbulpore Dist.], (4) Śiva temple at Bhumara [Nāgod State], (5 & 6) two Buddhist shrines at Sāñchi and Buddha Gayā, (7) the Śiva temple at Khoh [Nāgod state] containing a beautiful Ekamukhi Linga, (8) a beautiful Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara [Ajayagarh State], and (9) a temple in a ruined state but of great artistic merit at Dah Parbatia on the banks of the Brahmaputra [Darrang Dist. Assam]. During this period three of the finest caves in Ajanṭā Nos. XVI, & XIX, were constructed, the beautiful frescoe paintings in the Ajanṭā

Caves are evidence of the depth of human insight and high technical skill in wall painting. The Gupta coins in addition to their high bullion value possess considerable artistic merit. The noble iron pillar at Delhi and several huge copper statues of the Buddha discovered at Nālanda testify to the marvellous skill in the art of metallurgy attained in the Gupta period.

CHAPTER XI

THE VAKĀTAKAS

While the Imperial Guptas were supreme in the Gangetic valley, a powerful dynasty, that of the Vākātakas ruled contemporaneously with the Guptas the whole of the Central Provinces, Berar and Northern Deccan. The Vākātakas played an equally glorious part in the South as the Guptas did in the North. Prof. Dubreuil truly remarks : “Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century the most glorious, the one ‘that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that had the greatest civilisation of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākātakas.”¹

Even the name of such a powerful dynasty was unknown to us till 1836, when a copper-plate grant in the possession of a Gond Malguzar of Seoni (C. P. and Berar) was published for the first time². The founder of this dynasty Vindhyaśakti was indeed mentioned in the Purāṇas, but not as a ruler of the Vākātakas, but of a race called the Kolikilas.³ The Vishṇu Purāṇa states that the Kailakila kings were Yavanas⁴. Owing to this corrupt reading and wrong construction Vindhyaśakti was believed to have belonged to the Yavana or Greek race. Even the well-known antiquarian, Dr. Bhau Daji, fell into this error. While editing the Ajaṇṭā cave (No. XVI) inscription he said that “the Vākātakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as the execution of most

¹ J. Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71.

² A.B.N.U., H. S. October, 1946, No. 1. p. 8.

³ The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas say :

ततः कोलिकिलभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति । समाः वयणवति ज्ञात्वा
पृथिवीं तु समेष्यति ।

⁴ तैषुच्छिद्रेषु केलकिला यवना भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

⁴ *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48.

substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism."¹

On the other hand, the accepted view now is that the Vākātakas were Brāhmanas by caste. The Ajaṇṭā (Cave XVI) record as edited by M. M. Mirashi, clearly states that Family.

Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, was a *dvija*.² Later Vākātaka records mention Vishṇuvriddha as the *gotra* of the Vākātakas.³ In the Bāsim Copper-plate (Ind. Hist. Quart. XVI, p. 182 ff.) the Vākātaka king Pravarasena I has the family metronymic Hāritiputra and in another epigraph (C. I. I. III, p. 236 ff.) a Vākātaka prince is named Gautamiputra, whose mother evidently belonged to the Gautama *gotra*. All these may be taken as further evidence in favour of their Brāhman caste. Although the word *dvija*, according to Sanskrit etymology, may mean also a Kshatriya or Vaisya, it usually means a Brāhman and is generally used as such, and any doubt as to the Brāhman origin of the Vākātakas should no longer exist.

The late Dr. Jayaswal, who along with other eminent scholars like Prinsep Bühler and Keilhorn did considerable work on the Origin.

Vākātaka records states, (History of India, A.D. 150-350, p. 67-f.) that the Vākātakas originally hailed from a place named Vākṭāka which he identified with Bāgāt in the Orchha State. This claim of the northern origin of the dynasty has been contested by Prof. Mirashi. He argues in favour of the southern origin of the Vākātakas as follows: 'In support of his theory he (Dr. Jayaswal) tried to show that some of the coins discovered at Kosam near Allahabad and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasena I and other kings of the Vākātaka dynasty. But Jayaswals' readings are all doubtful and have not been accepted

¹ A.B.N.U. H.S. October, 1946, p. 9. Cf. JBBRAS Vol. VII, p. 69 f.

² Mirashi, Vākātaka Inscription in the Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā, Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14, p. 10.

³ A. B. N. U. H.S. No. I, p. 9.

by other scholars.¹ As a matter of fact, the Vākāṭakas never issued any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom. There is thus no valid argument to support the theory that the Vākāṭakas were originally a northern dynasty. On the other hand there are several indications that they came to this province from the South. Their Sanskrit and Prākṛit inscriptions contain several expressions which bear striking similarities to those used in Pallava grants.² Like the Śātakarṇis, Kādmbas and Chālukyas of the South, the early Vākāṭakas called themselves Hāritiputras, the descendants of Hāriti. They assumed the title of *Dharma-Mahārāja* which also is noticed in the records of only some southern dynasties such as the Pallavas and Kādmbas. It seems certain, therefore, that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from the South.”³

Vindhyasakti 1. The founder of the dynasty, according to the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVI⁴. Vindhyasakti who is described in the epigraph as *Vākātaka vamsaketu* and a *dvija*. The Purāṇas couple Vindhyasakti, the head of the family, with his son Pravira, and mention two Vākātaka capitals Purikā and Chanakā:

*Vindhyasaktisutaschāpi pravironām viryavān bhokshyate cha samāḥ shashṭim Purikām Chanakām cha vai*⁵.

Prof. Mirashi suggests that Purikā was previously the capital of Nāga princes and from the description in the *Harivamśa* it seems to have been situated somewhere at the foot of the Rikshavat or Sātpurā mountain. It may have become the Vākātaka capital after the dynasty had advanced further to the north. The other

¹ Altekar—“Some Alleged Nāga and Vākātaka Coins” S. N. S. I. Vol. V. p. III.

² Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI, p. 149.

³ A. B. N. U. No. 1, p. 9.

⁴ Also known as the Ajaṇṭā Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena.

⁵ Slightly different reading suggested by Dr. Jayaswal and Prof. Mirashi. No. 1. A. B. N. U. No. 1, p. 10 n. 8.

⁶ Pargiter, DKA, p. 50.

city Chanakā may have been their original seat of government. It has not yet been identified but may have been situated somewhere in the Kanāres country where we come across similar names such as Channagiri and Channapeta.¹

The Ajañtā inscription gives an uncommon praise to Vindhyaśakti. He is said to have increased his power by fighting great battles; while enraged (*kruddha*) he has irresistible (*anivārya śaktiḥ*). He was uncommon both in battle (*raṇa*) and in charity (*dāna*). His glory can be compared to that of Indra and Viṣṇu (*purandaropendrasama-prabhāvaḥ*). He had a large cavalry by which he conquered his enemies.²

Pravarasena I. He was succeeded by his son, Pravarasena I, who is to be identified with the Pravīra of the Purāṇas. He is described in the Purāṇas as a valiant king. He was the real founder of the greatness of the Vākātakas as an imperial power. He seems to have extended his rule further to the north as far as the Narmadā. The Purāṇas attribute to him the performance of the *Vājapeya* sacrifices. The Bāsim copper-plate inscription of Vindhyaśakti II³ informs us that he performed all the seven sacrifices including the *Vājapeyas*, e.g., *Agnishṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Vājapeya*, *Jyotiṣṭoma*, *Brihaspatisava*, *Sādyaska* and *Aśvamedha* which last, he performed four times. The performance of four *Aśvamedhas* proves that he must have led successful expeditions in different directions. He assumed the title of *Samrāt* evidently after the performance of the *Aśvamedhas* and *Vājapeyas*.⁴

Having extended his kingdom as far north as the Narmadā, Pravarasena I probably shifted his capital from Chanakā to a more centrally situated position like Purikā, situated somewhere at the foot of the Sātpurā mountain. (*Supra* p. 281.) According to the Purāṇas, a Nāga family, probably an offshoot of the ruling family of Vidiśā (near Modern Bhilsa) ruled in Purikā for some genera-

¹ A.B.N. U. H. No. 1. p. 10.

² S.I. pp. 26-27.

³ Y. K. Deshpande and D. B. Mahajan, Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Calcutta, 1938, p. 349 ff.

⁴ ABNUHS, No. 1, p. 10.

tions. It appears, therefore, that Pravarasena must have deposed the Nāga ruler of Purikā and annexed his kingdom. He then strengthened his position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga. He married his son Gautamīputra to Bhavanāga's daughter. There is no doubt that this marriage alliance was a wise move on the part of Pravarasena I. The Bhāraśivas were then a great power under their emperor Bhavanāga, whose coins were found at Padmāvati (Central India), the well-known capital of the Nāgas. The Bhāraśivas belonged to the Nāga race and were so called probably because they carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his *triśūla*) and believed that they owed their royal position to his grace. The Vākāṭaka records clearly show that they were staunch Shaivas. They performed as many as ten *Aśvamedhas* and were consecrated with the waters of the Ganges¹. This shows that they cleared of the Kushāṇas some *tīrthas* of the Gangetic valley like Kāśī and Prayāga. That this alliance with the powerful Bhāraśivas highly increased the power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas is clear from the fact that in all the records of Gautamīputra's descendants this alliance is mentioned with pride².

According to the Purāṇas Pravarsena I had four sons, all of whom became kings.³ Until recently, this statement of the Purāṇas appeared incredible; for there was no evidence of the Vākāṭaka family having branched off so clearly. The discovery of the Bāsīm copperplate grant in 1939⁴ has shown that besides Gautamīputra mentioned in several Vākāṭaka grants, Pravarasena I had at least one more son named Sarvasena. The name also occurs in a revised reading of the Ajanṭā cave inscription by Prof. Mirashi.⁵ It seems therefore certain that the extensive

¹ Bhāgirathyāmalajala mūrdhābhishiktānām
daśāśvamedhāvabhṛta snātānam (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, p. 85).

² I. B. N.U.H. No. 1. P. 12.

³ *tasya putrastu chattvāro bhaviṣyanti narādbipāh* (Pargiter—D.K.A. P. 50).

⁴ Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Cal. 1939. p. 349 ff.

⁵ Nagpur University Journal, Dec. 1940, No. 6. p. 41 ff. Cf. S. I. p. 427.

empire of Pravarsena I was divided among his four sons after his death. The eldest branch continued to reign from the old capital Purikā. The second son Sarvasena established himself at the city of Vatsagulma (Modern Bāsim) in the Akola District. The names of the remaining two sons are still unknown.

MAIN BRANCH

Gautamiṣputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I having died before his father, his son *Rudrasena* I succeeded his grandfather. Rudrasena I, being the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, had the powerful support of the Bhāraśivas and erected a Śaiva temple at Deotek, 50 miles south of Nagpur, where an inscription ascribed to Rudrasena I has been found¹. Rudrasena was a contemporary of the great emperor Samudragupta. Rudrasena I is probably to be identified with Rudradeva mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.² In line 21 of the inscription which relates to a second Āryāvarta war of Samudragupta against a new alignment of North Indian princes after his southern campaign, Rudrasena's name appears first, followed by eight other princes. This shows Rudrasena I was the leader of the confederacy formed against Samudragupta while he was in the Deccan. The power and position of Rudrasena I, the grandson of Pravarsena I and the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga, naturally made him the most powerful antagonist against Samudragupta's imperial policy. His defeat at the hands of Samudragupta not only deprived the Vākātakas of their Central Indian possession, if they had any, but also of some of their territories south of the Narmadā. The kingdom of this main or senior branch therefore came to be confined to the Northern Vidarbha.

¹ The Eighth All India Oriental Conference, Mysore, Dec. 1935, 613-33.

² The identification is questioned by Prof. Mirashi (Ib. p. 621). He says that the situation of the record (the Deotak inscription) shows that Rudrasena I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of Rudradeva with Rudrasena I.

Rudrasena I's son and successor was *Prithviṣeṇa* I who evidently augmented their possessions in the Deccan by the conquest of Kuntala. He is described in the Harishena's *prastāvi* as *Kuntalendra*. Kuntala has been identified with the region of the Kanarese country, practically the same as the district round Vanavāsi¹. A Kadamba king of the Mayūraśarma's line was apparently the ruler of Kuntala from whom Prithviṣeṇa I conquered it.² Prithviṣeṇa's son and successor was *Rudrasena* II who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. That the Vākātakas still maintained a strong and supreme position in the Western and Central Deccan is proved by the fact that Chandragupta sought their friendly alliance before his Śaka campaign (*Supra*, p. 251) giving his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā to Rudrasena II. (Rithpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā JRASB, NS, XX, 58 ff). Prabhāvatiguptā was connected with the well-known Nāga kula through her mother Kuberaṇāgā. After her husband's death she acted as regent to her minor sons, Divākarasena and Dāmodarsena. *Divākarasena* seems to have been short-lived. He was succeeded by his brother *Dāmodarsena* who, at his accession took the title of *Pravarasena* II. Several records of this prince have come to light. They record his donations of fields or villages situated in the modern districts of Amraoti, Wardhā, Nagpur, Betul, Bhandārā, and Bālāghāt in the Central Provinces and Berar. The Chammak (Ilichpura, Dist. Berar) Copper-plate inscription of Pravarsena II, issued in the

But there is also the consideration that Rudrasena may have other records north of the Narmadā, not yet discovered. There is no doubt, however, that he had interest in the North Indian possessions of his close kinsmen the Bhārasiva Nāgas and other allied Nāga princes whose independence was threatened by the aggressive imperialism of Samudragupta. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that Rudrasena I should have lent a helping hand to his kinsmen against Samudragupta.

¹ SI. p. 427, n. 3 Prof. Mirashi identifies it with the southern Marāṭhā country. ABNUH No. 1, p. 24.

² *Ib.*, p. 427, n. 3. It is the opinion of some scholars that Vindhyasena of the Bāsim branch really conquered Kuntala, probably aided by Prithviṣeṇa (NHI p. 109),

18th year of his reign, shows that he founded a new city which he named after him Pravarapura and probably shifted his capital there.¹ He was a devotee of Śambhu by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the reign of the *kṛita Yuga* or Golden Age.² He was a liberal monarch and made large gifts to thousands of Brāhmans.³

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son *Narendrasena*. He is known only from the unfinished Bālāghat plates of Prithviṣeṇa II.⁴ Narendrasena followed an aggressive policy and made some conquest in the east and in the north. The Bhāāghat plates of his son Prithviṣeṇa II state that he had by prowess subdued his enemies and that his commands were honoured by lords of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava.⁵ Prof. Mirashi makes the illuminating suggestion that Mālwa which remained under the direct rule of the Gupta emperor since the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya had probably become independent of Skandagupta under its Viceroy Govindagupta.⁶ I have already shown elsewhere (*supra*, p. 264) that Govindagupta, at first his father's Viceroy of Vaiśālī (Eastern India) was later transferred to Mālwa. A Mandasor inscription of the Mālwa year 524, (467 A.D.) of Dattabhaṭṭa son of Govindagupta's general Vayurakshita proves it. Prof. Mirashi refers to a Mandasor inscription in the Malwa grant of the Gwalior state (Gwalior Archaeological Survey Report for 1922-23, p. 23, p. 187) in which the name of Govindagupta is mentioned immediately after Chandragupta. The omission of Skandagupta's name is significant. It shows that Govindagupta refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of his nephew

¹ Bühler edited this record under the name of Illichpura grant. Prof. Mirashi suggests that it might be identified with Panvar in the Wardhā Dist. ABNMH No. 1. p. 17.

² *Prabhāvatī guptāyāmutpannasya Śambhoḥ prasāda-dhṛiti kārta-yugasya—I.let*, CII III, p. 236.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ ABNUHS No. I. p. 18. Also of Keilhorn, Bālāghat. Plates of Prithviṣeṇa II, Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 267, ff.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ ABNHS No. 1. p. 19.

after his brother's death. It may be that he sided with his southern neighbour Vākātaka Narendragupta to whom he paid court as stated in the Bhāāghāt plates.¹ At any rate this submission of Mālwa to Narendrasena, if the eulogy in the Bāāghāt plates is to be believed, chronologically fits in with his reign period which according to Prof. Mirashi was from c. 450 to 465).²

Narendrasena was succeeded by his son, *Prithvīsheṇa II*. During the reign of Narendrasena's reign, the Nalas of the Bastar state under their king Bhavadattavarman pressed the Vākātakas hard, entered deep into their territory and even occupied their erstwhile capital, Nandivardhana, from which place Bhavadattavarman issued a copper-plate grant.³ Even though Narendrasena seems to have recovered the city a considerable porrtion had still remained to be recovered by his son and successor Prithvishena II. A Vākātaka inscription of the time of Prithvishena describes him as the 'restorer of the broken fortune of the family.' Prof. Mirashi thinks that he probably changed his capital to Pāḍmapura, near Padampur in the Banda District from where an unfinished Vākātaka copper-plate was intended to be issued.⁴ Before he died he was able to consolidate his position at his capital in Eastern Vidarbha and after a time, not only drive the enemy from his ancestral country, but even retrieved his position in the north also.

Prithvīsheṇa II was the last known member of this senior branch of the Vākātaka family. After him the kingdom was probably annexed by Harīsheṇa of the Junior Vatsgulma family, who is known to have made extensive conquests in all directions. Thus ended the senior branch of the Vākātaka dynasty at about 480 A.D.⁵

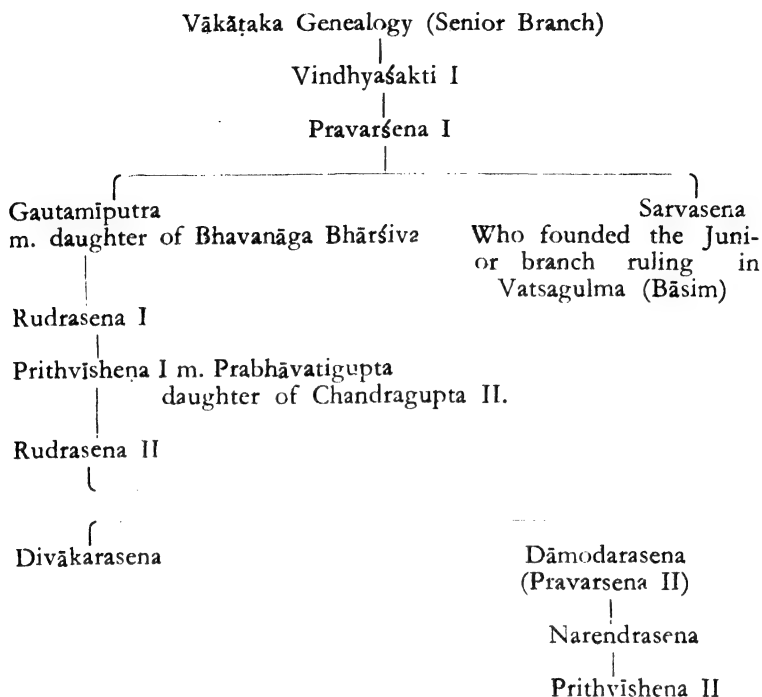
¹ Ib. p. 19

² Ib.

³ Ib. p. 20 cf "Riddhapur. (Amraoti Distt). Plates of Bhavadattavarman" Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX p. 100 ff.

⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 271.

⁵ Cf. Mirashi—An Unfinished Vākātaka Plate from Drug. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII, p. 207 ff. A.B.N.H.S. No. 1, pp. 20-21.



THE JUNIOR (VATSAGULMA) BRANCH

The discovery of the Bāsim copper-plate inscription of Vindhyasakti II in 1939² has brought to light the existence of this branch of the Vākāṭaka rulers, hitherto unknown. Several members of this branch were indeed mentioned in the Ajantā inscription in Cave XVI, but owing to a sad mutilation of the record, their names were misread. These names have since been restored by Prof. Mirashi in a new edition of the cave inscription.¹ He has shown that the princes who ruled the country to the south of

¹ D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*; XVI, p. 182 ff. Deshapande and Mahajān, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Calcutta*, 1939. p. 349 ff.

² Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI (Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 14.)*.

the Ajaṇṭā belonged to this branch of the Vākāṭaka family and that their rule extended to the south as far as the Godāvāri.¹

The founder of the branch was Sarvasena, mentioned as a son of Pravarsena I both in the Bāsim and Ajaṇṭā inscriptions. He was presumably a younger son and cut himself off from the main branch and founded an independent collateral ruling branch with Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola district as his capital, which gradually rivalled the old capital as a great centre of learning and culture. Sarvasena assumed the title of Dharmamahārāja in accordance with the custom in South. Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of the Prākṛit Kāvya *Harivijaya* and some Prākṛit *gāthās* included in the famous anthology *Gāthāsaptasatī*.²

Sarvasena was succeeded by his son, Vindhyaśakti known as Vindhyaśakti II in the Bāsim plates. He was the author of the Bāsim grant which he made in the 37th year of his reign. He, like his father, assumes the title of Dharmamahārāja. The Bāsim plate is an important landmark in the recorded history of the Vākāṭakas. The plates issued from the royal capital at Vatsagulma register the grant by Vindhyaśakti II of a village north of Nāndīkaṭa, modern Nanded, in the Nizam's dominions. The genealogical portion of the grant written in Sanskrit, omits the names of Gautamīputra and Rudrasena I, the eldest son and grandson of Pravarsena I, and mentions Sarvasena, immediately after, and as a son of, Pravarsena I, and as the father of Vindhyaśakti II, the author of the grant. This incidence as well as the fact that the grant was issued from a new town Vatsagulma, evidently the capital city of the collateral line, prove that Sarvasena, a younger son of Pravarsena I, founded this independent line which otherwise would have remained unknown to us.

Vindhyaśakti II was followed by his son *Pravarsena II*. Curiously enough this prince bears the same name as his contemporary of the main branch did. Very little is known about him, but he appears, from the Ajaṇṭā inscription, to have been an enlightened ruler.

¹ A.B.N.U.H.S. No. 1, p. 21.

² Ib. p. 22.

The name of his successor who ascended the throne in his eighth year is unfortunately lost in the Ajantā inscription which, however, states that he 'ruled well'¹

He was followed by his son *Devasena*. He issued a copper-plate inscription from Vatsagulma.² This shows that Bāsim continued to be the royal capital. He had a very able, experienced and highly qualified minister named Hastibhoja to whom he entrusted the government of the kingdom himself seeking the pleasures of life.³

Devasena was succeeded by his son, *Harishena*, during whose time the Ajantā cave (XVI) inscription was issued, tracing the genealogy of the collateral branch of the Vākāṭaka kings up to his time. He is described in the epigraph as a valiant king. He is said to have made many conquests and extended his kingdom in all directions. The lines (14-15) of the Ajantā inscription which describes his conquests are sadly mutilated, but the portions which exist indicate that his conquests included Kuntala (Southern Marāṭhā country), Avantī (Western Mālwa), Kalinga (Orissa), Kosala (South Kosala or Chhattisgarh).⁴ Trikuṭa (Nāsik District), Lāṭa (Gujrāt) and Andhra (the country along the eastern coast between the Godāvarī and the Krishnā). This shows that he ruled over an extensive territory running from Mālwa in the north to Kuntala in the south; in the east it touched the Bay of Bengal and in the west the Arabian Sea.

Like his father he had an able and popular minister in Varāhadeva who was probably the son of Devasena's Minister Hastibhoja, and caused the Ajantā Cave XVI to be excavated and the highly informative inscription to be inscribed on its wall. The Vākāṭaka power probably reached its zenith during the reign of Harishena who probably ruled over the entire Vākāṭaka empire.

Fall of the Vaka-
taka
Empire.

¹ "प्रशशास सम्यक्"

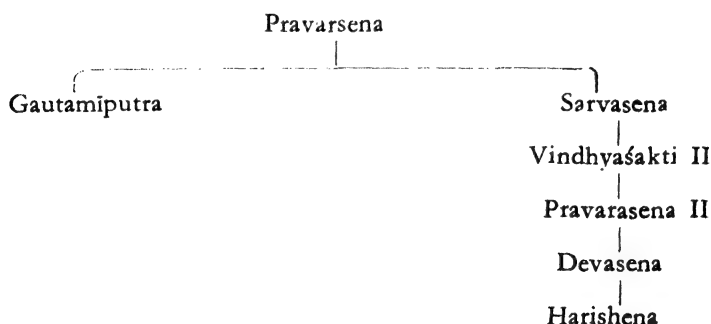
² New Ind. Ant. 1937, p. 177 ff.

³ भोगेषु यथेष्ट-चेष्टः Ajantā Cave XVI inscription.

⁴ 39 States Mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region, including the two states of Orissa. e. g., Patna and Kalia Handi situated on the borders of C. P. and Orissa.

He is the last known ruler of the dynasty. No name of any Vākātaka king after him is known to us. Harishena reigned about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. The dynasty must have been overthrown by about the middle of the next century. We do not know of any sensational event connected with its downfall. Several causes may have led to it: the weakness of Harishena's successors, if any and the rise of old enemies like the Naḷas and of new powers like the Kalachuris and the Kadambas. The rise in Mālwa and in the Northern C. P. of a short-lived power in the person of Yaśodharman who reigned about 532 A.D.¹ assumed the imperial titles, and claimed to have ruled the territories not even acquired by the Gupta and Hūṇa kings², must have included in his empire the northern districts of the Vākātakas. Yaśodharman's empire was short-lived, and probably the Kalachuris finally destroyed the Vākātaka power and built up their own over the ruins of the former as the numismatic evidences show.³

Vākātaka Genealogy (Junior Branch)



¹ Yaśodharman's dated Mandasor inscription V. E. 589= A.D. 532 (Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XVIII, p. 220. XX, 188 ff).

² His undated Mandasor inscription (Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 219 ff. XX, p. 188).

³ The coins of Krishnarāja who heads the genealogical list in early Kalachuri grant have been found all over the country. ABNUHS No. 1. p. 24, of Arch. Surv. Rep. 1913-14, p. 204. Bombay Gaz. Vol. I pt. II, p. 13, B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX (Extra Number pages 7 and 9).

THE VAKATAKA AGE

Political conquests were not the only achievements of the Vākātakas. Excellent activities in religion, art and literature also marked the Vākātika Age. The words of high praise of Prof. Dubreuil for the Vākātika civilisation quoted in the beginning of this chapter, are true indeed.

Vākātakas themselves were staunch Brāhmanist but were tolerant to other religions, such as Buddhism and Jainism which continued to flourish in their vast empire with liberal support of their ministers and feudatories. We have seen how Pravarasena had performed the seven Vedic sacrifices, including the *Āśvamedha* which he performed four times. (*Supra*. p. 282). Several Vākātika inscription record grants of lands and even whole villages to pious and learned Brāhman. Most of the Vākātika kings were the followers of Śiva whom they worshipped under the name of Maheśvara and Mahābhairava and for whom they erected several temples. Rudrasena II, son-in-law of Chandragupta II, however, seems to have been a worshipper of Viṣṇu, perhaps under the influence of his wife or father-in-law, both of whom were devout Vaiṣṇavas for which there are inscriptional evidences.¹ But his son Pravarasena II seems to have gone back to Śaivism, as he has been designated as *paramamāheśvara* in his Chammak plate inscription.²

Many of the Vākātika kings were not only great patrons of learning and learned men, but also authors of excellent Prākṛit *kāvya*s and *gāthā*s. As already shown (*supra*) Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma line, was the author of the Prākṛit *kāvya* *Harivijaya* based on the Krishṇa, Satyabhāmā and Pārijāta episode in the Mahābhārata. The *kāvya* is not now

¹ Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 25, 43f. 141, Allan Cat. p. 49; Rithpur copper-plate of Prabhāvatigupta JASB (NS) Vol. XX, p. 58f; Mirashi, Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXIII, p. 86.

² Ind. Ant., XII, p. 239 ff. SI p. 421.

extant, but the copious citations and references made thereof by later Sanskrit poets testify to the excellence of the style and theme as well as to the authorship of the Kāvya. Several of his Prākṛit *gāthās* have been included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. During his reign Vatsagulma became a great centre of learning and culture. Pravarasena II of the elder branch of the family was also a reputed royal author of several Prākṛit *gāthās* included in the *Gāthā Saptasatī* and of the famous Kāvya *Setubandha*, also called *Rāvaṇavaho*, composed in Mahārāshtri Prākṛit. High praise is bestowed on the *Kāvya Setubandha* by competent authors. Daṇḍin who wrote a century later (Sixth century) calls it in his *Kāvyādarśa* a mine of gems in the form of good sayings, and Bāṇa (seventh century) says in his *Harshacharita* that “by means of this *setu* (i.e. *Setubandha*) the fame of Pravarasena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge’ (of Rāma).¹ It may be that Kālidāsa who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and survived him, lived for sometime in the Court of Pravarasena II, helped the Royal author in the composition of his Kāvya, and also composed his own lovely lyric *Meghadūta* regarded as Kāvya of Vidarbha, during his sojourn there².

Architecture, Sculpture and painting also received their share of patronage from the Vākātaka kings. The two shrines in Vidarbha, one in Tigowa near Bahuriaband in the Jubbulpore District, with its flat roof and covered verandah, and the other in Nachnā (Nagod State) are in good state of preservation. The pillars and pillasters in the verandah of the Tigowa shrine have capitals of the Indo-Persepolitan style with half seated lions carved back to back with a tree between them. Statues of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā guard the entrance of the sanctum.

¹ कीर्ति : प्रवरस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला । सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ।

² Cf. ABNHS No. 1, pp. 29-31 and Ib. p. 31, n. 75 Prof. Mirashi gives good reason to believe that Kālidāsa may have been in the Pravarasena II's court in Vidarbha and may have helped the royal author to complete the book. Ib. pp. 31-32.

The Nachnā temple was built by Vyāghradeva as feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Prithvīsenā II¹.

Some of the most magnificent caves of Ajaṇṭā, Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Chaitya cave XIX belong to the Vākāṭaka age². The cave XVI excavated by Varāhadeva, Minister of Harīṣeṇa contains a hall 66 feet long, 65 feet broad and 15 feet high. The roof is cut in imitation of beams and rafters. The shrine at the farthest end contains a huge statue of the Buddha in the *Dharmachakra pravartana mudrā*. Picture galleries which covered the whole of interior of the cave have now been damaged, but the one noteworthy piece, that of the dying prince, has been highly praised for its pathos and sentiment, artistic skill and colour by the famous art critic Mr. Griffiths.³ The cave XVII, a vihāra cave containing a statue of the Buddha, and in size and make is similar to the aforementioned one. The Chaitya cave XIX, is one of the four other Chaitya caves at Ajaṇṭā, elaborately carved throughout with beautiful sculptures, including standing and seated images of the Buddha. It is considered by Fergusson as one of the best specimens of the Buddhist art in India. Both these caves were constructed by a feudatory of Harīṣeṇa.⁴

¹ Ib. pp. 33-34 Cf. A.S.I.R. IX, p. 43.

² Cave Temples of India by Fergusson and Burgess p. 303 f.

³ Ib. p. 307.

⁴ BNUHS No. I pp. 35-37.

CHAPTER XII

THE POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE TO THE RISE OF HARSHAVARDHANA

The sixth century A.D., i.e. the period between the downfall of the Gupta Empire to the rise of Harshavardhana of Thāneśvara about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. is a period of another disintegration when India was broken up into a number of small independent states including the one founded by the Hūṇas who were foreign invaders. We shall deal in this chapter the history of these states including that of the remnant of the Gupta power held by what is known as the later Guptas of Magadha and Eastern Mālwā, each in a separate section.

[SEC. I]

THE HUNAS

One of the greatest shocks which the Gupta imperial power had received was the invasion of the Hūṇas. They were a horde of fierce nomadic race who originally lived in the neighbourhood of China. Issuing out of their home, they overran the whole of Persia and Afghanistan putting the country through which they passed under fire and sword. Another section of this horde went to Europe and earned equal notoriety for their savage vandalism. As already shown their first invasion of India took place about the close of Kumāragupta's reign which was successfully resisted by the Crown prince Skandagupta [सुन्दरगुप्त]. Undaunted by this temporary check, they again came in large numbers about the close of the fifth century A.D. under a new leader *Toramāṇa*, entrenched themselves in the Uttarāpatha, including Gandhāra and Kaśmīra and then attacked the western territories of the Guptas; killed men and women, destroyed fields and homes and raised to the ground

Toramana

the monuments and glorious relics of the Gupta Empire. Toramāṇa's name is found in the *Rājatarangīnī*, the inscriptions and coins and the Hūṇa possession in the Uttarāpatha is also referred to in the *Harshacharita*. The Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa [C. I.I., III, p. 159 f.] proves his sovereignty over Central India. The conquest of this part of the Gupta Empire by Toramāṇa must have taken place sometime after the Gupta era 165 = A.D. 484 which is the date of the Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta when he was still ruling Central India including Mālwa through his vassal-chief Mātrivishṇu whose younger brother was Dhanyavishṇu [C. I.I., III, p. 89]. The Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa, dated in the year 1 of his reign, shows that Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of Mātrivishṇu, now deceased, was a vassal of the Hūṇa king. Another Eraṇ Stone pillar inscription of the time of Bhānugupta [C.I.I., III p. 92 f.] refers to a battle in which his general Goparāja died fighting in a sanguinary battle and his wife died on the funeral pyre of her husband¹. The inscription is dated in G. E. 191 [= 510 A.D.]. It is not unlikely that the battle referred to may represent the final phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇas in Central India in which the latter deprived the Guptas of their Central Indian possessions including Mālwa.

Toramāṇa's son and successor was *Mihirakula* who figures in traditional literature as a fiend of destruction and as a monster who took immense delight in acts of wanton brutality. Yuan Chwang says that Mo-hi-ki-lo [*Mihirakula*] carried on a merciless persecution of the Buddhists, destroying and plundering their stūpas and monasteries. The pilgrim further states that king Bālāditya of Magadha, when attacked by him, utterly defeated him, took him prisoner and subsequently released him. After this defeat *Mihirakula* retired to Kāśmīra where he misused the Kāśmīra king's hospitality by seizing the throne of his benefactor by a successful conspiracy. But he could not enjoy long the fruits of his treachery, for

¹ This is an early epigraphic reference to the *Satī*.

death removed him from this earth within a year of his usurpation. Who this Bālāditya is cannot be stated with certainty. We have already shown [*Supra*, p. 269] that he cannot be Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, and must be some body else bearing that name who ruled in Magadha. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya ruled before G.E. 154=473 A.D., which is the date of his successor Kumāragupta as recorded in his Sārnāth inscription [Arch. Surv. Ind., Ann. Rep. 1914-15, p. 124], whereas the attack on Madhyadeśa by Mihirakula, son and successor of Toramāṇa, which resulted in his defeat by Bālāditya could not have taken place before 484 A.D. when the Central Indian possessions of the Gupta rulers were still intact, and Mihirakula's father, Toramāṇa was still alive. And if my suggestion [*Supra*] that the enemy who killed Bhānugupta's general Goparāja in the very famous battle in Central India [Fleet, No. 20, Eraṇ Inscription of the time of Bhānugupta]¹ of the year 510 A.D., is the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa who issued in the first year of his reign, an inscription from Eraṇ proving his sovereignty over Central India, then Toramāṇa was alive in (510+1 A. D.) 511 A.D. Consequently, the Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang who defeated Mihirakula must be a later Gupta ruler of Magadha who reigned long after Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, the predecessor of Kumāragupta II [c. 473 A.D.]. There are epigraphic evidences to show that several rulers of Madhyadeśa had the name or title of Bālāditya. In lines 2-6 of the Deo-Baraṇārka Inscription [Fleet, No. 46] of a later Gupta ruler of Magadha, Jvitagupta II, the name of one Bālāditya occurs. In the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakāṭāditya, king of Kāśī [Fleet, No. 79] two rulers of his dynasty are mentioned as Bālādityas. R. D. Banerji [Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India, p. 194] is probably right when he identifies one of these Bālādityas with the one mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the conqueror of Mihirakula.

¹ C.I.I., III, p. 92 f.

If there is still uncertainty about the Mihirakula-Bālāditya episode for lack of any corroborating epigraphic evidence, there is none, however, of a crushing defeat in battle of Mihirakula at the hands of a chief of Mālwa, Yaśodharman by name, whose exploits are narrated in his Mandasor Inscription [Fleet, No. 33], in which it is stated, among other things, that Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king, paid him homage. Verses 6 and 7 of the praśasti describe in its characteristic style the Mihirakula—Yaśodharman episode: "He [i.e. Yaśodharman] to whose two feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arm the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was painted through being now for the first time bent low by the strength of his [Yaśodharman's] arm in the act of compelling obeisance." From the above passage we can glean that the Hūṇa Mihirakula was a very powerful monarch, was a devotee of Śiva [Sthāṇu], his capital was in the Himālayan region or not very far from it and that he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kaśmīr. According to the Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Śākala or Sialkot in the Punjab. His empire appears to have extended from Kaśmīr to Mālwa from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman.

The epigraph which records this event is undated, but it [Hūṇa king's defeat] must be placed after the Vikrama era 589, i.e. 532 A.D., the date recorded in a Mandasor inscription [Fleet, No. 35] which eulogises Yaśodharman but does not mention Mihirakula.

Date of
Yaśodharman
Mihirakula Battle

As the inscription [Fleet, No. 33] which refers to the Hūṇa defeat by Yaśodharman is engraved by the same person Govinda who engraved the dated inscription [Fleet, No. 35] the probability is that the event fell within a few years on either side of the date [533 A.D.]. Dr. V. Smith's suggestion that Yaśodharman and Bālāditya fought a combined battle against

Mihirakula is of doubtful value. The probability is that two separate battles were fought—one by Bālāditya for the defence of Magadha, and the other by Yaśodharman to free Central India from the Hūṇa subjection.

The rise to power and prominence of Yaśodharman is shrouded in mystery. His origin is unknown. He is described in the epigraph as 'Janendra' [a tribal ruler]. His capital was Mandasor [Western Mālwa], where his inscriptions are found. The Mandasor epigraphs containing his prasasti [Fleet, Nos. 33 and 35] give an eulogy of his exploits and conquests, including his victory over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. He thus occupies an important place in the political history of the period under review. The court panegyrist tells us that he conquered the whole of India from the Himālayas in the north to Mahendra [Eastern Ghāṭs] in the south, and from the Brahmaputra [Lauhitya] in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west [paśchimādāpayodhe] and that he was lord of the countries not possessed even by the Guptas and Hūṇas. There is, however, no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of the extensive land mentioned in the epigraph. It is a conventional prasasti and need not be taken as entirely historical in all its details. The verses refer to the *digvijaya* which he claims to have performed and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravartikshetra*. The facts, however, that he achieved the freedom of Central India by defeating Mihirakula and probably also attacked the Gupta kingdom in the east, appear to have no doubt.

[SEC. 2]

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

One of the earliest powers which rose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire were the *Maitrakas of Valabhī*. Their chief *Senāpati Bhaṭārka* established his rule in Saurāshṭra with Valabhī as capital. Valabhī has been identified with Wala, near Bhavanagar.

Bhaṭārka, the founder of the dynasty of Valabhī rulers and his son and successor *Dharasena I* called themselves *senāpatīs*. The next five rulers are *Dronasiṃha*, *Dhruvasena I*, *Dharapatta*, *Gubhasena* and *Dharasena II*—all called themselves Mahārājas. This shows that they either maintained nominal allegiance to the Guptas out of deference to them or temporarily owed allegiance to some other power, probably the Hūṇas. The Māliyā [Junāgadh State, Kāthiāwār] Copper-Plate inscription of *Dharasena II* [Fleet, No. 38] provides the names of his predecessors including that of the founder of the ruling dynasty and is dated in the Gupta year 252=571 A.D. The earliest dated record of the Valabhī rulers is the Bhumodara-Mahata [Kāthiāwār] copper-plate of the year 183=[A.D. 502] issued by the third king of the dynasty *Dronasiṃha* [Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 18 f.]. Their rise to ruling power, therefore, may be dated about the close of the fifth century A.D., and in the sixth and seventh centuries they made themselves a considerable power in western India. One of the great kings of Valabhī was *Śilāditya* who conquered Mo-la-po [Western Mālwa].¹ His nephew *Dhruvasena II* was reigning when Yuan Chwang visited Valabhī. The pilgrim records the name of the king as Tu-lo-po-ta [*Dhruvabhaṭṭa*] and says that he was a nephew of *Śilāditya*, the former king of Mo-la-po and a son-in-law of *Śilāditya* [Harsha], king of Kānyakubja. He was a man of hasty-temper and shallow views but was a sincere Buddhist [Watters, p. 246]. It is clear that Valabhī must have been attacked by Harsha during his wars of conquest and expansion [*infra*], when *Dhruvasena* [*Dhruvabhaṭṭa*] was king and who had fled the country to take refuge with Dadda of Broach, and recovered his throne with the latter's help. A peace was evidently patched up between him and Harshavardhana who cemented their friendly political alliance by making the Valabhī king his son-in-law. The pilgrim informs us that *Dhruvabhaṭṭa* was one of the kings who attended Harsha's assembly at Prayāga as one of the emperor's numerous allies.

¹ *Śilāditya I* who acquired the second name *Dharmāditya*. Vide Alina [Khaira Dist. Gujarat] Copper-plate inscription of *Śilāditya VII* [Fleet No. 39], p. 181.

Dhruvasena II's son and successor was *Dharasena IV*. The Khedā [Kaira] grant [Ind. Ant., 1886, pp. 335-40] informs us that he assumed the full imperial title of Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin, and of his conquest of the Gurjara. The grant was issued in G. E. 330 [= A. D. 649] from his camp of victory [Vijayaskandhāvāra] located at Bharukachchha [Broach], which shows his sovereignty over that place. The history of the Valabhī dynasty is blank until G.E. 447 [= A.D. 766], which is the date recorded in the Alina Copper-plate of *Śilāditya VII* who mentions in his epigraph several of his predecessors bearing the name Śilāditya. Nothing more than their names is known from any source. It is however, clear from the epigraph that the Valabhī dynasty continued its political independence in full vigour up to the end of the 8th century A.D., and continued to maintain it until it was destroyed by the Arab invaders from Sind.

Despite its short political history Valabhī played an important part not only as a great seat of learning and culture, but also a centre of trade and commerce. Bharukachchha [Broach] which the Valabhī king conquered in the 8th century A.D. was an entrepot of goods and

Commerce and
Culture.

traffic, extensively used for both internal and external trade. The capital city of Valabhī itself so fortunately situated in Kāthiāwār was "a port of international trade with numerous ware-houses full of rarest merchandise."¹ The seventh and eighth centuries were the heyday of this greatness. Although most of their kings were Śaivas, there is nothing on record to show that they persecuted Buddhism. In fact Yuan Chwang who visited Valabhī at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. testifies to its king being a Buddhist. I-tsing who visited Valabhī shortly after Yuan

Chwang found it a great centre of learning. In fact Valabhī occupied almost the same position as a seat of University learning in Western India, as Nālandā did in the Eastern India. Famous Buddhist scholars, Guṇamati and Sthiramati were two leading scholars

A great centre of
learning.

¹ A. S. Altekar, EAI, p. 124.

of the University at the middle in the 7th century A.D. [The Copper-Plate grant of Sthiramati, Ind. Ant. VI, p. 11]. Like Nālandā Valabhī was not a Buddhist centre of learning only. In the Kathāsaritsāgara [Ch. XXXII] we find that even Brahman boys from the distant Gangetic plains used to come to Valabhī for higher education. I-tsing [p. 177] says that graduates of Valabhī were appointed to high executive posts. This shows that the subject taught were varied in character and included both sacred and secular subjects. That the University enjoyed considerable intellectual freedom and was reputed for catholicity is also clear from the pilgrim's statement. He says that the scholars from all parts of India used to assemble at Valabhī and stay there for at least two or three years to discuss 'possible and impossible doctrines'. The university received considerable support from the merchant princes of the wealthy city of Valabhī as also from the Maitraka kings who were great patrons of learning.¹

[SEC. 3]

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA AND MĀLWĀ

The Gupta Empire, as we have seen, broke up in the middle of the sixth century A.D. But some Gupta rulers were reigning in North-Eastern India and Mālwa which they must have recovered after the destruction of the Hūṇas. What relations they had with the imperial Guptas is not known. May be they were descended from Puragupta. Their territory in the North-East was confined to Magadha and its neighbourhood. For this reason they are designated as the Gupta rulers of Magadha. In order to distinguish them from the previous imperial Gupta rulers they are also called as the later Gupta rulers. The names of eleven later Gupta rulers of Magadha have been found and their reign-period covers roughly 200 years. Their genealogical tree can be drawn from two inscriptions: [1] the Apsad [Gayā]

¹ lb. p. 125.

inscription of Ādityasena¹, gives the names of the first eight and their relations to each other [2] the Deo-Baraṇārka [Shahabad Dist.] inscription of Jīvitagupta II² provides the names of the remaining three. One Gupta king, Devagupta is known from Harsh's inscriptions at Banskhera and Madhubana.

The founder of the line is *Kṛishṇagupta*. We know very little of him or of his son *Harshagupta* and grandson *Jīvitagupta* I. The fourth king, *Kumārāgupta* was a powerful monarch. A new power was rising in Bihar and U. P. which gave constant trouble to the Guptas of Magadha. They were the Maukharis [*infra*] Kumārāgupta defeated the Maukhari king Išānavarman. This extended the Gupta territory as far as Prayāga where Kumārāgupta's funeral rites were performed [Fleet, No. 42]. His son *Dāmodaragupta* was, however, killed³ by Išānavarman's son, Sarva-varman, and Magadha for some time, came under the Maukharis. Dāmodaragupta's son and successor was *Mahāsenagupta*. He is probably to be identified with the king of Mālwa whose sons Kumārāgupta and Mādhavagupta were sent as companions of Harsha, as stated in the *Harshacharita*. If the identification is correct, as most probably it is, then it is clear that Mahāsenagupta must have retired to Mālwa and ruled the principality when Ādityavardhana, father of Prabhākaravardhana was reigning in Thāneśvara. The Madhubana grant and the Sonpat Copper-seal inscription⁴ of Harshavardhana name the mother of Prabhākara-var-dhana as Mahāsenaguptā. The Apsad inscription also states that Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta had "the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadeva." It may thus be inferred that Mahāsenagupta was keen to cultivate the friendship of the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara first giving his sister in marriage to Ādityavardhana and then sending his two young sons to Thāneśvara to serve as companions of Prince Harsha. That the

¹ Fleet No. 42.

² *Ib.*, No. 46.

³ Pandit K. C. Chaṭṭopādhyāya [*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* pp. 181 ff.] argues that the passage does not indicate the death of Dāmodaragupta but that he swooned.

⁴ Fleet No. 42.

alliance was eminently successful is proved by the fact that Mahāsenagupta not only recovered the lost territory from the Maukharis but also, as the Apsad Inscription records, 'won a great victory over the illustrious Sushitavaraman, king of Kāmṛūpa, the fame of which is still sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya' [Brahmaputra]. The reign of Mahāsenagupta is a fixed point of chronology of the later Gupta kings of Magadha, as his contemporaneity with Ādityavardhana and Prabhākavardhana, the grandfather and father respectively of Harsha is beyond any doubt.

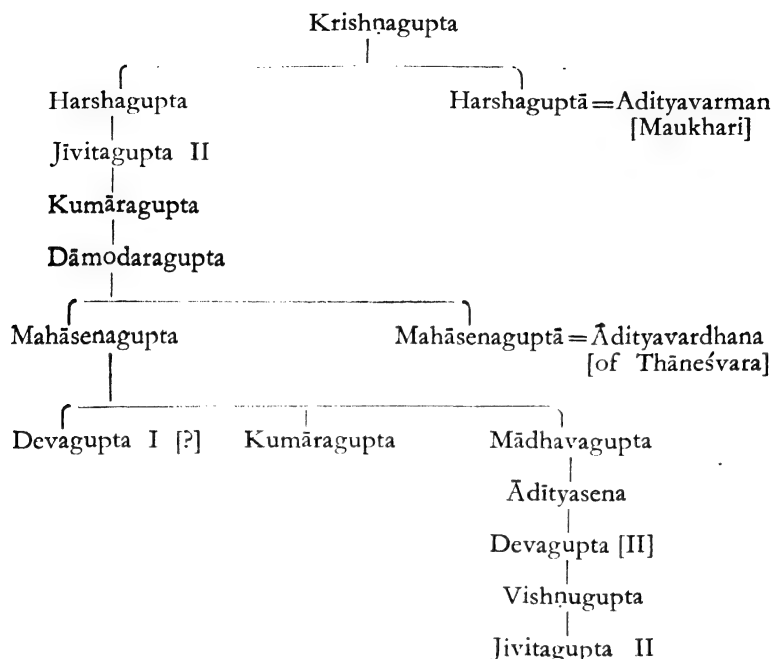
Harsha's empire included Magadha, and he put on throne of Magadha his friend and ally *Mādhavagupta*, the son of Mahāsenagupta. But the name of another Gupta ruler of Mālṁwā, *Devagupta*, occurs in the Madhubana inscription, whom we have to place somewhere between Mahāsenagupta and Mādhavagupta. According to the *Harshacharita* the wicked lord of Mālṁwā, in alliance with Śaśāṅka, lord of Gauḍa [Bengal] killed the Maukhari king of Kanauj, Grahavarman, and imprisoned his queen Rājyaśrī, and her brother Rājyavardhana the king of Thāneśvara, defeated the Gupta king "with ridiculous ease." Bāṇa does mention his name. But we know from the Madhubana plate that a Gupta king named Devagupta was defeated by Rājyavardhana. So we may take Devagupta as the adversary of Grahavarman and later defeated by Rājyavardhana. Devagupta, therefore, was probably the eldest son of Mahāsenagupta and succeeded to the throne of Mālṁwā after his father's death, while his two younger brothers, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta were in the court of Thāneśvara. As king of Mālṁwā he followed the traditional policy of his family against his hereditary enemies, the Maukharis of Kanauj. His defeat, however, by Rājyavardhana, a close relation of the Maukhari king killed by Devagupta, led to the annexation of Mālṁwā, as relates by Bāṇa. The line of Gupta kings of Mālṁwā thus came to an end with Devagupta whom we may designate as Devagupta I as distinct from another Devagupta who came later. It is significant that the Apsad Inscription omits the name of Devagupta from the list and the Deo-Barārk Inscription gives us the genealogy of the new line of Gupta kings which starts from

Mādhavagupta whom Harsha placed in charge of the eastern parts of his empire. Mādhavagupta remained a faithful ally of Harsha. But after the death of Harsha and the break up of his empire, Mādhavagupta's son and successor *Ādityasena* revived some of the lost glories of the imperial Guptas by making extensive conquests and assuming for the first time in his family the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*. *Ādityasena*'s Shahpuri stone inscription [Fleet, No. 43] gives us the details of his conquests which included Aṅga. The date of the inscription, Harsha era 66 = A.D. 672, is another fixed point of chronology of the later Gupta rulers, as it is in complete fitting with the contemporaneity of his father Mādhavagupta with Harsha. *Ādityasena* and his successors continued to assume the imperial title. That it was not an empty title is indicated by the records of the western Chālukyas of Vātāpi which refers to one of them as *sakalottarāpatha-nātha*. The rulers named in the Deo-Baraṇārka¹ inscription in order of succession from *Ādityasena* are *Devagupta*, his son *Viṣṇugupta* and his son *Jivitagupta*. According to a Chālukya record [Ind. Ant., IX, p. 129] Vinayāditya, the Chālukya king of Vātāpi won a great victory over "the Lord of all the region of the North" [*Sakalottarāpathanātha*]. The king of the north, here referred to, is most probably *Devagupta*, son of *Ādityasena*. The Gupta territories since the time of *Ādityasena* which included Magadha, Aṅga and parts of Madhyadeśa, as the provenance of their epigraphs indicate, were finally occupied by the Gauda kings of Bengal in the 'middle of the eighth century A.D.'²

The Genealogical Tree of the Later Guptas of Magadha and Mālwa as drawn from the Aphsad, Deo-Baraṇārka and Madhubana inscriptions and references to the *Harshacharita*.

¹ The grant recorded in the Deo-Baraṇārka Inscription is not an original one of Jivitagupta II, but only a confirmation of that of the two Maukhari kings, and also of *Bālāditya*, whom they probably succeeded in power. This *Bālāditya* may be the one mentioned by Yuan Chwang to have defeated and taken prisoner Mihirakula.

² *Gauda-vaho* by Vākpatirāja; also Cf. PHAI, 3rd. Ed. p. 412.



[SEC. 4]

THE MAUKHARIS

A dynasty, known as the Maukharis, occupied an important place in the politics of Northern India during the period under review. Their origin is uncertain, but their antiquity is borne out by a clay seal containing the Legend 'Mokhalīnāṇ', i.e., the Mokhalis or Maukharis, written in Brāhmī characters of the Mauryan period. The provenance of the inscriptions of the early Maukhari chiefs indicate the extent of their power in the early stage. Originally their territory was confined to South Bihar. In the Barābar and Nāgārjunī [Gayā] Hill Cave Inscriptions [Fleet, Nos. 48, 49 and 50] we find a set of three Maukhari rulers. They are in order of succession and relationship *Yajña*

Varman, his son *Śārdūla* and his son *Anantavarman*. None of them is described in the epigraph as Rājā or Mahārāja, but a mere Sāmanta or Sāmantachūḍāmaṇi. From this we gather that this line of Maukhari rulers were probably vassals of the later Guptas of Magadha.

A new line of Maukhari rulers is obtained from the Asirgaḍ copper-seal inscription of Śarvavarman [Fleet, No. 47]. The inscription is important not only as providing the genealogical list but some facts of history as well.

Harivarman is mentioned as the first king of this line. He is called a mahārāja which shows that he was probably an independent ruler. He is described in the *prasasti* *Harivarman*. in its characteristic style as one "whose fame stretched out to the four oceans and who had other kings brought under his subjection by his prowess and affection."

He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja *Ādityavarman* who married Harshaguptā, the daughter of king Krishnagupta and sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. From the *Ādityavarman*. inscriptions of the later Gupta kings of Magadha and the *Harshacharita* we learn of the hereditary feuds between the Guptas and Maukharis. It is probable that these feuds were sometime settled by matrimonial alliances between the two houses.

Ādityavarman's son and successor was *Īśvarvarman* who also called himself a mahārāja. The Jaunpur Stone Inscription [Fleet, No. 51] is ascribed to him, and as such he must have reigned before 554 A.D., the earliest known date of his son *Īśānavarman*, as recorded in the latter's Harāhā Inscription [Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV]. Three important events are recorded in the Jaunpur Inscription; [1] "A spark of fire that had come by the road from the city of Dhāra, was easily extinguished by *Īśvaravarman*." This probably refers to the defeat of the upstart tribal chief of Mālwa, Yaśodharman who may have transferred his capital from Mandsor to Dhāra. The two cities are close to each other. The ruler of Dhāra, as the passage indicates, was the aggressor. [2] "The lord of the Andhras, wholly given to fear,

took up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountain.' This undoubtedly means that he defeated the Andhras who crossed the Vindhyas to invade Northern India. [3] He also defeated another king who being beaten "retired to the Raivataka mountain." This shows that an invader from Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwār was also defeated by Śīśvaravarman. According to Asirgaḍ Inscription of Śīśvaravarman [Fleet, No. 47] his chief queen and the mother of his son and successor Śīśnavarman was Devī Upaguptā. The name suggests that she was a princess of the Gupta family of Magadha, probably a daughter or sister of his contemporary Jivitagupta I. From the Harāhā Inscription we get some information about the personal virtues of Śīśvaravarman. He was kind and compassionate, pious in conduct, ambitious and self-reliant, truthful in speech and liberal in gifts.

The son and successor of Śīśvaravarman is Śīśnavarman. He was the first Maukhari king who assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja [Fleet, No. 47]. That it was no empty Śīśvaravarman. title is clear from his achievements recorded in his Harāhā [Bārābanki Dist., U. P.] Inscription, according to which he won victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas, and soon raised his house to be a rival power with the later Guptas. His conflict with Kumāragupta was thus inevitable. This feud between the Maukharis and the later Guptas was continued through several generations until the latter wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana [Infra, p. 328]. The hey-day of the Maukhari power was the reign of Śīśavarman. His victory over the Śūlikas was a landmark in the dynastic history of the Maukharis. The Śūlikas were probably the Choḷas. A Tamil Historical Text, the *Kalīngathippaṇi* [IA, XIX, 332-36] states that they [the Choḷas] use pikes or śulis as their weapons. The Choḷa city of Kollīpakkaī is often represented in the inscriptions as being surrounded by Śūli [S.I.I., Vol., I and III]. It may be that to the North-Indian poet of the Harāhā *prafasti* the South Indian name Choḷa did not appeal, and he substituted it by the Sanskrit name Śūlika.

Even in a South Indian inscription [Ep. Ind., p. 105] the Choḷas have been described as 'Choḷika'. Śūlika from choḷika is not impossible. This victory over the Cholas¹ and that over the Andhras and the Gauḍas whom 'he kept within their proper realm' undoubtedly entitled him to the title of Mahārājādhirāja which distinguished him from his predecessors. The newly achieved political dominance of the house of the Maukharis is also reflected in its coinage. Coins of Īśānavarman and his two successors Śarvavarman and Avantivarman have been found. Mr. R. Burn, C. S. I., I.C.S., describes a find of these coins in JRAS, 1906, p. 848. Besides coins, the Maukharis also issued seals, two of which were found in Nālandā along with his seals. One of these shows a part of its original inscription, giving the Maukhari genealogy in which can be read the names of the founder Harivarman and his wife Jayasvāminī. On some of the other seals is found the legend 'King Īśānavarman known for his knowledge of Varṇāśrmadharma and keeping his subjects contented [*rañjita-prakṛitib*]. On the tip of the seals appears the symbol of a well-moulded bull walking to left, with an attendant on either side [Arch. Surv. Rep. Eastern Circle, 1917-18 p. 44].

His son and successor was Śarvavarman. According to the Apsad Inscription he avenged the defeat of his father by Kumāragupta by defeating and killing Kumāragupta's son, Dāmodaragupta.

¹ A very ancient Tamil work the *Śilapaddikāra* [V. II. 89-110] which narrates an event connected with Harivarman helps to clear some doubts regarding Īśānavarman's victory over the Choḷas or Śūlikas. The book states that a Choḷa king Karikāla having subdued the neighbouring states in the south led an expedition into Āryāvarta and the king of Magadha paid him tribute.

The Magadha king referred to was perhaps Harivarman, Maukhari, a most outstanding ruler in Northern India at the time. This shows that there was a hereditary feud between the Maukharis and the Choḷas and Īśānavarman, the most powerful of the Maukhari kings avenged the defeat of his family.

² Cf. Harāhā Ins. Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 110 ff.

The Deo-Baranārka Inscription of Jivitagupta II indicates that the authority of Śarvavarman and his successor Avantivarman extended as far as Arah where the inscription Avantivarman was found. This is, again, the only inscription which records the name of the Maukhari king *Avantivarman*. The epigraph says that Jivitagupta confirmed a grant of a temple which had previously been confirmed first by Bālādityagupta and then by Śarvavarman and Avantivarman Maukhari. From this it may be inferred that Avantivarman succeeded Śarvavarman. It is, however, difficult to say in what relation Avantivarman stood with Śarvavarman. He is also mentioned in the *Harshacharita* as the Maukhari king whose son Grahavarman was married to Rājyaśrī. He is described in the inscription as Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara which shows that the Maukhari power and influence were still intact.

The last independent Maukhari ruler of imperial dignity was *Grahavarman*, the son and successor of Avantivarman, as recorded in the *Harshacharita* which is the only source Grahavarman of his history. His capital was Kanauj, and he was the son-in-law of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśvara, whose daughter Rājyaśrī was married to him. The Vardhanas of Thāneśvara had established themselves as great power in the north-west under Prabhākaravardhana. The matrimonial alliance, therefore, between the two houses speaks well of the position of the Maukharis and the Guptas is well known. A Gupta king of Eastern Mālwa, probably, Devagupta [*Supra*, p. 391] in alliance with Śaśānka, king of the Gaudas, attacked Kanauj, killed Grahavarman and destroyed the Maukhari power about 606 A.D.

Grahavarman, already stated, was the last great Maukhari ruler of imperial dignity. Probably some members of the family continued to rule over small principalities first as feudatories of Harsha who absorbed the Maukhari territories to his own, and then as independent or semi-independent rulers during the days of confusion which followed the death of Harsha. Yuan Chwang speaks of one *Pūrṇavarman*. Cunningham argues¹ that he might

The Later
Maukharis

be a Maukhari king. If the identification is correct, he must have been a vassal chief of Harsha. The name of another Maukhari prince, *Bhogavarman*, appears in an inscription of Jayadeva II, of the Lichchhavi branch of the Nepal kings. The inscription is dated Harsha Saṃvat 153 = 759 A. D., and records that Bhogavarman was the son-in-law of Ādityasena of Magadha. He must have been a sufficiently important man to have been sought by Ādityasena as a son-in-law. No other record of their activity or their relationship with the imperial Maukharis are available anywhere.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAUKHARIS

There are two groups of Maukhari rulers whose names are found from inscriptions and literature. The founder of the first line [A] was Yajñavarman recorded in the Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions. The second line [B] can be drawn from the Asirgaḍ Copper seal inscriptions and the *Harshacharita*.

[A]	[B]
Yajñavarman	Harivarman <i>m</i> Devijayasvāminī
Śārdūla Varman	Ādityavarman <i>m</i> Harshaguptā
Ananta Varman	Is̥varavarman <i>m</i> Upagupta
	Is̥ānavarman <i>m</i> Lakshmīdevī
	Sarvavarman
	Avantivarman
	Grahavarman = Rājyaśarī Vardhana

¹ A. S. I. R. XV, p. 166.

CHAPTER XIII

HARSHAVARDHANA

[606—647 A.D.]

Sources: Literary

1. The *Harshacharita* by Bāṇa.
2. Records of the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang [Waters and Beal].

Epigraphic

3. Sonpat Copper-seal Inscription of Harsha [Fleet, No. 52.]
4. The Banskhera-plate of Harsha [Ep. Ind. IV, pp. 208—11].
5. The Madhubana Copper-plate of Harsha [Ib. I. pp. 67-75].
6. The Nālandā Seals [Ep. Ind., XXI, April, 1931, pp. 74-76].
7. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II [Ep. Ind. VI, pp. 1-12].

Secondary

8. Harsha by Dr. R. K. Mookerji.
9. History of Kanauj by Dr. R. S. Tripathi.
10. Pires: The Maukharis. pp. 1-12.

With the rise of Harshavardhana, India emerged from the state of chaos and confusion referred to in the last chapter. The sixth century A.D. was one of the darkest periods in the history of India when the dismemberment of the country into smaller independent states, lack of cohesion under a strong central authority invited the invasion of the Hūṇas who, as we have seen, devastated the country and destroyed the relics of Gupta civilisation. The powerful hand of Harshavardhana not only stopped this course

of dismemberment but built up a powerful empire, established peace and order and gave to the people under his rule the benefits of an enlightened administration and patronage to culture.

Harshavardhana was a prince of the royal house of Thānenśvara. His elder brother was Rājyavardhana, the father of Prabhākara-var dhana and the sister Rājyaśrī who was married to King Grahavarman of Kanauj. Being thus allied to the king of Kanauj, Prabhākara-var dhana waged successful wars against the Mālavās, the Hūṇas of North-westren Punjab and the Gurjaras of Rājputānā. In 604 when Prabhākara-var dhana sent out an expedition under Rājyavardhana to chastise the Hūṇas, the young Harshavardhana also accompanied him to receive his baptism in fire. In the battle-field, the two brothers heard the sad news that their father had been suddenly taken ill and died. Rājyavardhana had already defeated the Hūṇas. He hastily returned to the capital and was crowned king. But troubles soon thickened for the newly crowned king. Hardly had he sat on the throne than the distressing news came that the king of Mālwa in alliance with King Śaśāṅka of Bengal, had invaded the Maukhari capital Kanauj, killed his brother-in-law, Grahavarman and kept his sister Rājyaśrī a prisoner. Thereupon Rājyavardhana at once marched with a force of 10,000 troops to avenge the wrong done to his sister. He met an advance-guard of the king of Mālwa and defeated him. But he failed to take Kanauj and recover his sister. Soon after he himself was killed by Śaśāṅka. Rājyaśrī however, managed to flee from her prison into the wilds of the Vindhya.

Thus the early life of Harshavardhana was spent amidst wars and family misfortunes. The lessons were not entirely lost upon him. With a scholarly and religious bent of mind, Harshavardhana most reluctantly accepted the position of kingship left vacant by his elder brother's unexpected death. But once on the throne, the young king, about sixteen years old, set his mind on restoring the

Accession
606 A. D.

shaken fortunes of his family and bringing the whole of Northern India under his rule. He commemorated his accession in 606 A.D., by founding a new era known as the Harsha era.

Immediately after his accession, he rescued his widowed sister from the forest home in the Vindhyas. He then proceeded on a career of conquest to the east to avenge the death of his brother. He evidently annexed his widowed sister's kingdom to his own and removed his capital to Kanauj. He readily accepted an offer of an alliance by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa who wanted to safeguard his position against the aggrandisement of Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal. That this alliance was somewhat of the nature of a subordinate alliance is evident from the fact that the ruler of Kāmarūpa was present in Harsha's Kanauj Assembly with 20,000 elephants. He organised a mobile and formidable force of 5,000 elephants 20,000 horse and 50,000 infantry which he kept constantly on war-footing for five and a half years. At the end of that period, that is, by 612 A.D. he made himself master of the whole of Upper India except the Punjab, part of Begal and Orissa. There is no doubt that Bengal was under the rule of Śaśāṅka for a considerable time after 612, as the Gañjām Plate conclusively shows that Orissa was within the dominion of Śaśāṅka at least up to 619 A. D. Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhī [Western Mālwa] was signally defeated and in his distress sued for peace which was granted on the terms that he should marry Harsha's daughter and reign in his kingdom as a feudatory prince under him. The dependencies of Valabhī, Cutch and Suratha [Surat] also came under Harsha's rule. As a result of his wars and conquests, he was able to build up an empire.

His empire included the whole of the basin of the Ganges from the Himālaya to the Narbadā, besides Mālwa and Gujrāt.

Besides, the distant king of Assam in the extreme east and of Valabhī in the extreme west, acknowledged his suzerainty. Harsha maintained diplomatic relations with China. He sent a Brāh-

His Wars and
Conquests

Extent of his
Empire

man envoy to the Emperor of China in 641 A.D. In 643 that envoy returned accompanied by a Chinese Mission bearing a reply to Harsha's despatch and remained in India until 645 A.D. when he returned to China. Next year the Chinese sovereign sent a new mission under Wang-hiuen-tse who had accompanied the earlier mission.

His diplomatic
relations with
China.

The Harsha Pulakesin War

The only check that Harsha received in his career of conquest was from Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya king of the Deccan. Yuan Chwang states [Watters II, 239] "the great king Śīlāditya at this time was invading east and west and countries far and near were giving allegiance to him, but *Mo-bā-la-cha* [Mahārāshṭra] refused to become subject to him, under the great king Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin had made himself the Lord Paramount of the South by his extensive conquests; rivalling those of Harsha in the North. In the *Life* of Yuan Chwang is stated that Śīlāditya Rājā marched with his troops to contend with Pulakeśin, but was unable to subjugate him [Beal, p. 147]. This account of the Chinese traveller is corroborated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II in S.E. 556=A.D. 634. In his characteristic style the poet Ravikīrti describes the event of this battle in the following verse thus: "Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arranged with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Pulakeśin had his joy [*harsha*] melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle" [Ind. Ant. VIII]. Another verse in the same inscription shows that the battle was fought on the banks of the Revā [Narmadā]. Further corroborations of this defeat of Harsha by Pulakeśin are obtained by many other inscriptions of this dynasty in which Pulakeśin has always been referred to as defeating the glorious Śrī Harsha, the lord of the

whole northern country, in consequence of which he acquired the second title *Parameśvara*¹

Nepal and Kasmira

The two border states of Nepal and Kaśmīra were probably outside the empire of Harsha. Some scholars hold that Harsha's conquests extended to Nepal, from the assumption that his era was in use there [Bhagavan Lal Indraji and Bühler in I. A., XIV, p. 420]. Dr. R. K. Mookerji [Harsha, pp. 30, 39 and 40] seems inclined to identify Nepal or Kaśmīr with the inaccessible land of showy mountains'. His bias for acceptance of Kaśmīr as a dependency of Harsha on the above quotation is also proved by his references to the writings of Yuan Chwang relating to Kaśmīr as recorded in Watters I, 259 and in his *Life*. Dr. Mookerji concludes: "The *Life* tells of an episode....which shows that Kaśmīr in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harsha: the episode of Harsha compelling the king of Kaśmīr to part with a relic of Buddha. Bāṇa refers to 'the inaccessible land of snowy mountains'² subdued by Harsha himself; and these phrases might signify Kaśmīra also." [Harsha, p. 40]. He has already stated [Ib. p. 30] that this land "might mean Nepal."

Dr. Sylvian Levi does not accept the opinion of Bhagawan Lal Indraji and Bühler on the ground that "Nepal at that time was a dependency of Tibet, which after Harsha's death, helped Nepal in supporting the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse in his expedition against the usurper of Harsha's throne".³ Moreover, the use of the Harsha era by a country does not necessarily prove that Nepal was a dependency of Harsha. Nepal was a close neighbour to Harsha's empire in the north-east. We do not know the provenance of those inscriptions containing Harsha era. They were

¹ Samarasamśakta sakalottarā-patheśvara Śrī Harshavardhana parājayopalabdha parameśvarāparanāmadheyah.

² *Hc.*, Cowell and Thomas, pp. 100-1.

³ Harsha, p. 31.

probably in those parts of the Nepal territory which were continuous with Harsha's empire. It may be that the Nepal king adopted the Harsha samvat for those official epigraphs as being widely known and understood by the people of those particular localities of the inscription. This does not meet in any way the arguments of Dr. Sylvian Levi, as cited before. Dr. Mookerji seems very much inclined to interpret the passage in the Harshacharita "*atra paramēśvareṇa tushāra-śailobhūvo durgāyā gribhita karab*"¹ to include as Harsha's dependencies Nepal or Kaśmīra particularly the latter, as his quoting the Chinese evidences of the episode of Harsha and the king of Kaśmīr shows. We have seen above that Harsha's sovereignty in Nepal was negated by S. Levi and other researchers. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang has always spoken of Kaśmīra as an independent state. Rājatarangīnī also treats of the country as such. The episode in the *Life* stated above proves nothing of the subordinate relationship of the king of Kaśmīr. At least it does not prove that Kaśmīra was not an independent and sovereign state. Then the question arises what is that 'inaccessible land of snowy mountains' referred to in the *Harshacharita*? There is, no doubt, that Harsha's empire comprised the whole of the present U. P., including its northern and north-eastern districts of Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Rampur, Muradabad, Bijnor, Shahrānpur, Dehradun and Hardwār. The provenance of his Banskhera inscription is Shahjahanpur. It is not improbable that some of the hill-stations adjacent to these parts namely Garhwal and Kumaun districts, whose peaks lie covered in snow for most part of the year and which were undoubtedly included in his empire gave the poet the inspiration for the passage.

Harsha and Sasanka

Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal [Gauḍa] was a great contemporary of Harsha. We have seen that Śaśāṅka was an ally of Devagupta, the ruler of Eastern Mālwa, when the latter attacked and

¹ "Here, the overlord exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains."

destroyed the power of Grahavarman of Kanauj. Harsha-Charita, our only source of information of the fact, stated above, further tells us that when Rājyavardhana, king of Thaneśvara and brother-in-law of Grahavarman avenged the latter's death by defeating the king of Mālwa, Śaśāṅka invited him by false promises to his quarters and killed him there. Bāṇa prepares us for a great fight between Śaśāṅka and Harsha when he tells us that Harsha's *digvijaya* commenced with elaborate preparations for war against the Gauḍa king whom he stigmatised as the 'Vilest of Gaudas', 'the vile Gauḍa serpent'. But regarding the actual fight Bāṇa is completely silent. Neither do we get any positive information of any actual fight between the two rulers from the Chinese source either. All that Yuan Chwang says relates to the persecution of Buddhism by Śaśāṅka. He says that Śaśāṅka, the king of Karna-Suvarṇa was a persecutor of Buddhism, broke up the Buddhist monasteries between Kuśinagara and Vārāṇasī, threw the stones of Pāṭaliputra showing the Buddhist footprints into the Ganges, cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā, destroyed its roots down to the water and terraced what remained and tried to violate the Buddhist temple thereby replacing the image of the Buddha by that of Śiva [Watters, II]. Śaśāṅka was just dead when Yuan Chwang visited the Bodhi tree about 637 A.D.

It seems, however as Mr. R. D. Banerji [History of Bengal in Bengali] suggests that the offer of alliance to Harsha [*Supra*, p. 329] from the distant king of Kāmarūpa was really due to the latter's hostility to the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. This alliance was eagerly welcomed by Harsha whose grievance against Śaśāṅka was equally strong and which also fitted with his plan of *digvijaya*. The result, as Mr. Banerji suggests, must have been the defeat of Śaśāṅka and the loss of Kanauj as well as Bengal which was annexed by Harsha and ultimately 'passed on to Bhāskara-varman after Harsha's death.

Probably Śaśāṅka retired after the loss of Karna-suvarṇa and retained his hold in some parts in the eastern coast up to at least A.D. 619 as can be gathered from the Gañjām Plate inscription of that year [Ep. Ind., VI., 143] in which one of his feudatories ruling on the east coast mentions Śaśāṅka as a Mahārājādhirāja.

Yuan Chwang refers to a successful expedition against the Koṅgada [Gaṇjām] country in the east coast of which, according to the epigraphic record cited above, Śaśāṅka was the sovereign lord. This expedition was launched by Harsha about 643 A.D. after Śaśāṅka was dead. Bāṇa refers to Śaśāṅka's sphere of political influence by using the term *Śaśāṅka Maṇḍala* in which he was shining in full glory. This must have included in his best days the whole of Bengal, some parts of Bihar and Orissa. It threatened the independence of Kāmarūpa in the east under Bhāskaravarman, and Kanauj in the west under Grahavarman, with what reactions and ultimate result we have already shown.

Śaśāṅka probably worked his way up from a comparatively humbler position of a mere chief. The Rohtasgarh seal [Fleet No. 78] designates him as the 'Mahā-Sāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva.' But by 605-06 A.D., he became a great power indeed in the east, Lord of Karṇasuvarṇa [Bengal, and some parts of Bihar and Orissa. His sphere of influence which Bāṇa describes as *Śaśāṅka Maṇḍala* thus extended over a large territory. It threatened in the east the independence of Kāmarūpa under Bhāskaravarman and in the west Kanauj under Grahavarman with the results already noticed. Śaśāṅka was a strict Brāhmaṇist and a follower of the Saiva cult, as his gold coins show. This explains his hostility to Buddhism which he greatly persecuted, if the Chinese pilgrim is to be believed. He issued gold coins under the title of Śrī Śaśāṅka. On the obverse of these coins is found Śiva reclining on his full bull Nandi, and behind him the disc of the moon and the legend Śaśāṅka. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing on lotus [Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 147].

Harsha's Administration

Harsha's administration was based on benign principles and was intensely personal in character. Instead of relying on the services of a trained bureaucracy alone, he personally supervised the administration. He was always on tour from province to province looking into

Administrative
Tours

the details of administration in each, punishing the evil-doers and rewarding the meritorious. Yuan Chwang tells us that while on the move, he made travelling palaces made of boughs and reeds at each halting place and that his marches were like state processions accompanied by hundreds of drummers, who beat a note on golden drums for each step taken. No other king was allowed to have such musical drums.

For the purpose of administration the whole of the empire was divided into *Bhuktis* [province], *Vishayas* [Districts], and *Grāmas* [villages.] The Madhubana Inscription of Harsha mentions the grāma of Soma Kundakā, in the Vishaya of Kuṇḍadhānī, in the Bhukti of Ahichchhatra. We have seen in the Gupta inscriptions that the viceroys and governors of the Gupta Emperors were called Uparika Mahārājas, Kumārāmātyas, etc. Probably Harsha followed the same system of names with slight or no variations. The Madhuban plate provides us with the names of certain offices, e.g., Mahāsāmantas, Mahārājas, Kumārāmātyās, Uparikas, and Vishayapatis. The Mahāsāmantas or Mahārājas were, of course, the local hereditary chiefs ruling their states under the aegis of the Emperor. They thus acted as ordinary Governors or Uparikas. The Vishayapati was the chief officer of the district, his headquarters [as we have in the Basārḥ seals] being called Adhishthānas [offices and courts]. The grāma was the unit of administration, its headman was called the grāmika. Another important office of the village administration was the same as in the Gupta bureaucratic system. The keeper of land and other records, *Pustapala* of the Dāmodarpur inscriptions is the *Pustakaṛit* in the *Harshacharita* [p. 47]. The *lekḥakas* of the Gupta period were called Karaṇikas [clerks] in the *Harshacharita*. Besides these officers with specific functions, a class of officers called 'general superintendents' [*Sarvadhyakshas*]¹ were perhaps equivalent to the *Adhyakshas* mentioned in the *Harshacharita* [p. 254].

Administrative
Divisions and
Designations of
Offices

¹ Fleet, No, 55

Maintenance of Departmental registers was a special feature of Harsha's administration. Special officers were appointed to keep official records of all public events, good or bad, of both calamities or fortunate occurrences.

Revenues of state were drawn from various sources. The rents from crown lands amounting to 1/6th of the produce was the principal source. Presents from those who had occasion to see the king were another source of income. Custom was another source. We gather from the Madhuban inscription that there is a tax on the things sold. It seems that the merchants were required to pay some additional tolls at the ferries and fords on the rivers and at many points on the highways. On the whole taxation was light. Officials received grants of lands instead of pay. Personal service exacted from the subjects was moderate in amount.

Criminal Law

Criminal law was more severe than that of the Guptas. Roads were less safe than in the time of Fa-hien's visit. Mutilation as a mode of punishment, abandoned by the Guptas, was awarded now. Trial by ordeal also existed.

Liberal provision was made for charity to various religious communities. Like Aśoka, he set up innumerable benevolent institutions for the benefits of travellers, the poor and the sick. Rest houses were built in both towns and villages and provided with food and drink, also medicine in charge of qualified physicians to treat those who fell sick there. Like his prototype Aśoka, he also endowed many religious establishments for the benefits of both Hindus and Buddhists. His charitable distributions at the quinquennial Assembly at Prayāga are unique in character in as much as he made himself a pauper there. Six times did he thus give away his accumulations at Prayāga. His smaller charities were innumerable.

Harshavardhana commanded a large standing army composed of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. During Yuan Chwang's visit, the cavalry had gone up to 100,000 and the elephant corps to 60,000. There was also a camel corps. Besides, troops were supplied by tributary and allied princes. For instance, Kumāra of Kāmṛūpa visited Harsha with 2,000 elephants. According to Bāṇa, Harsha acquired a good many elephants as presents from tributary princes.¹ Horses were imported from the western regions, such as Sind, modern Afghanistan and Persia. Besides the regular military officers there were Superintendents of barracks. Royal stables were managed by a large staff of fodderers, grooms and overseers². Yuan Chwang states that recruitment was made by public proclamation stating the remuneration for recruits. The royal guards were recruited from heroes of proved valour. They formed a sort of hereditary military aristocracy.³ Frontiers were properly guarded and towns were enclosed by walls.⁴

Education received careful attention of Harsha. Government gave liberal grants towards the spread of literacy and infusion of higher learning. He endowed monasteries and higher seats of learning where innumerable monks and Brāhmins received education. A number of literary men of whom Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the greatest lived in his court and enjoyed the royal patronage. Harsha himself was a literary man of high merit and an accomplished calligraphist. Among the works composed by him, three Sanskrit plays, the *Nāgīnanda*, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* still exist to testify to the literary attainments of the royal author. Bāṇa, the court-poet, wrote his famous book, the *Harsha Charita*, a historical romance containing a panegyric account of the deeds of

¹ *Ile.* p. 66.

² Watters, II. p. 343; Beal I. p. 230.

³ *Ib.* I. p. 171.

⁴ Beal, I. p. 87.

Harsha. Allowing for the childish exaggerations of the virtues and unworthy flatteries of the royal patron, the book is evidence of the high standard of the Sanskrit literature which a really capable writer could produce and is a valuable contemporary literary source of history.

Harsha's Religion

It is difficult to say what religion Harsha actually belonged to, although it is clear that he had leanings towards Buddhism and was partial to it. In his personal conduct, he practised the Buddhist law of life and like Aśoka strictly enforced the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of life of animals. As already stated, his benevolent activities for the good of humanity were carried on Aśokan model. His father Prabhākaravardhana was devoted to the worship of the sun, but Harsha distributed his devotions among the three deities, the Sun, the Śiva and the Buddha and erected costly temples for the service of all three. During his time Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmanical Hinduism flourished side by side and the followers of the various religions lived peacefully together. It is probable that the king sought to win universal popularity from all sections of his subjects as well as divine support by doing honour to the principal gods of popular worship. This fact alone accounts for the apparent eclecticism in Harsha's religion. We have it on the testimony of Yuan Chwang that in the Assembly at Prayāga, Harsha worshipped the image of the Buddha on the first day, the image of the Sun on the second day and that of Śiva on the third day. There is, however, evidence to suppose that in Harsha's closing years, Buddhism received the chief share of the royal favour. Innumerable monasteries and stūpas were built up along the banks of the sacred Ganges. His leanings towards Buddhism were certainly strengthened by his meeting with Yuan Chwang while he was in camp in Bengal.

The Assembly which Harsha held on the occasion of Yuan Chwang's visit to his capital and his quinquennial assemblies at Prayāga bear ample testimony to the emperor's devotion to Buddhism and respect

Assembly at
Kanauij

for the other two faiths stated above. Both these assemblies have been graphically described by Yuan Chwang as follows: Harsha received his valued guest Yuan Chwang at his camp in Bengal. He determined to hold a great Assembly at Kanauj in his reception. In order to give the utmost publicity of the Master's teaching, he organised a unique religious procession from Bengal right up to his city Kanauj. The king accompanied by Yuan Chwang led the march along the southern bank of the Ganges. A train of no less than eighteen tributary kings, many thousands of Buddhist monks and an enormous multitude kept the train. His ally, the king of Kāmarūpa, with a large but less numerous following kept pace with him on the opposite bank. By a slow march of about six miles or so per day, the Emperor reached Kanauj in the course of ninety days. The king of Kāmarūpa, who had reached the capital earlier and the Rājā of Valabhī, received the Emperor at the western gate.

In the capital, a splendid monastery with a shrine was specially erected upon the banks of the Ganges. In that monastery was also built a tower 100 feet high in which was kept a golden statue of the Buddha, equal in size of the king's statue. Another golden Statue 3 feet high was carried daily in procession headed by Harsha and followed by twenty Rājās and three hundred elephants. Harsha, as he moved along, scattered on every side, pearls, golden flowers and other precious substances in honour of the 'Three Jewels', *Buddha*, *Dharmā* and *Saṃgha*. Then he washed the image at the altar with his own hands, bore it on his shoulders to the western tower and there offered to it thousands of silken robes, embroidered with gems. These ceremonies lasted for seventy-five days¹.

The Assembly at Prayāga was held every five years by Harsha.

The one that was held, after the Assembly at Kanauj, in 643 A.D. and to which Yuan Chwang was also invited was the sixth of its kind. This Assembly, like the previous one, was also attended by all the vassal kings. Besides half a million people, including

¹ E.H.I., 4th Ed., p. 364.

poor orphans and destitutes, invited Brāhman and ascetics attended the ceremony which continued for seventy five days with great eclat. The religious ceremonies were eclectic, characteristic of the times. Three special days were reserved for performing three popular forms of worship. On the first day, the image of the Buddha received honour of the highest class, the images of the Sun and the Śiva were worshipped on the second and third day respectively. On each day of worship and on subsequent days, charities were distributed on a lavish scale. Monks, Brāhman, ascetics, poor and destitutes all came for a substantial share of the king's charity, so that, at the end, he exhausted the accumulations of five years and paupered himself so completely that he had to beg from his sister [Rājyaśri] an ordinary second-hand garment to put on and rejoiced that his treasure had been all spent in the cause of religion.

Yuan Chwang left his royal host at Prayāga on his return journey home. This was the last quinquennial assembly which Harsha lived to participate in, for he died at the beginning of 647 A. D., four years after the Prayāga Assembly.

Harsha and Bhashkaravarman

Si-yu-ki—or the Records of the western world by Beal

Life— Biography of Yuan Chwang written by his disciple Hwui—li.

Watters—on Yuan Chwang's travels in India in 2 volumes.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM THE DEATH OF HARSHA TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

The death of Harsha was quickly followed by the disruption of the empire which Harsha had so laboriously built up. Harsha did not leave behind him an heir to the throne, which was usurped by his minister Arjuna.

Effect of Harsha's Death.

It is related in a Chinese book that the head of the Chinese mission Wang-hiuen-tse, who visited shortly after Harsha's death, was attacked, his goods plundered and some of his attendants killed. Wang-hiuen-tse managed to escape with his life to Nepal. The Tibetan king Strong-tsan-Gampo, who was married to a Chinese princess, gave him troops with which he captured Tirhut, defeated Arjuna in a series of battles and took him prisoner to China. The description of the empire which thus began continued and within a short after Harsha's death, numerous independent kingdoms sprang up. From this time on until the Muhammadan conquest, the unity of the empire was lost, the imperial history of India gave place to dynastic histories of many important states.

THE THREE BORDER STATES

The three border states of Kāmarūpa [Assam], Nepal and Kaśmīra claim our attention first.

Located at one corner of India and protected by natural barriers, the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa retained her independence even during the Mauryan rule. In the fourth century A. D., it acknowledged the over-lordship of Kāmarūpa. of and paid taxes to the Gupta kings but retained its autonomy

in internal administration. In the seventh century A. D. the king of Kāmarūpa was Bhāskaravarman. Dreading the rising power of Śaśāṅka, Bhāskaravarman entered into a friendly alliance with Harshavardhana who, he knew, was an enemy of Śaśāṅka. After the death of Śaśāṅka, Bhāskaravarman came to be looked upon more as a feudatory vassal than an equal ally. This is proved by the fact that when Bhāskaravarman refused to send the Chinese pilgrim who was then living with him to Harsha, the latter threatened dire punishment and the former yielded and afterwards attended the Kanauj and Allahabad Assemblies along with other of Harsha's vassal princes. After the death of Harsha, Bhāskaravarman asserted his independence which, however did not last long. A barbarian, Śīlastambha by name, overpowered him and Kāmarūpa passed under Mlechha rule for nearly three hundred years.

Nepal was included in the empire of Aśoka. It was outside the Kushāṇa empire but acknowledged the sovereignty of Samudragupta. In the seventh century, it came under the influence of Tibet and after Harsha's death, fully passed under Tibetan rule for half a century. In A.D. 703, the Nepalese asserted their independence by defeating and killing the ruler of Tibet.

Enclosed by mountain barriers, the valley of Kaśmīra has ordinarily remained politically isolated from India except during the Mauryan and Kushāṇa periods. Aśoka held sway over it and Buddhism spread in the country during his rule. Kanishka also ruled the valley as part of his empire and held his great council of the Buddhists in Kundalavana Vihāra there. In the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., the terrible Hūṇa leader, after being defeated by Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Yaśodharman, took refuge in Kaśmīr. The king of Kaśmīra received him kindly and placed in his charge a small territory. But the traitor soon killed his benefactor and seized the throne. But he did not live long to enjoy his ill-gotten gains, having died a year after his treacherous crime. In the seventh century, a

powerful Hindu dynasty arose in Kaśmīra. The founder of this dynasty was *Durlabhavardhana*. It was during his rule that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited Kaśmīr. His son and successor Pratāpāditya built the town of Pratāpapura. The greatest king of the dynasty was *Lalitāditya Mukatāpīḍa* who ascended the throne about 624 A.D. He conquered the Punjab, Kanauj as well as Dardistan and Kabul. The beautiful Mārtand temple dedicated to the Sun god was built in his reign. After his death [about 760 A.D.], Kaśmīr lost its foreign possessions and sank into obscurity. At the close of the eighth century, *Jayāpīḍa* tried to recover the lost fortunes of his house but failed. In the twelfth century, its king *Jayasīmbha* [1127-1155 A.D.] recovered some of its lost prestige. He was the patron of the famous historian and poet *Kalbhaṇa* of Kaśmīra. In the fourteenth century, it passed under the rule of a Muhammadan adventurer, Shah Amīr, who conquered Kaśmīra about 1340 and founded a new dynasty which retained its independence until 1586 when it was conquered by Akbar.

The most outstanding feature in this period was the rise of the warlike race of the Rājputs and foundation of numerous Rājput kingdoms in North India. During the Rise of the Rājputs periods preceding and following the supremacy of first and the last Gupta dynasty, many foreign races like the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Hūṇas had come to India, settled in the country and merged in the older population, having adopted the manners, customs and religion of their Hindu neighbours. These Hinduised foreigners formed a new race in which the warlike qualities of the sturdy peoples of Central Asia were united with their devotion to, and pride, in the Hindu religion and traditions. The chiefs of these new races claimed their descent from the old Hindu gods, the Sun, the Moon and Agni etc. The Hindu priests found in them the firmest upholders of Hinduism. And since government and fighting were their chief occupations, they were recognised by the Hindu priests as Kshatriyas. The chiefs and their followers called themselves Rājputs [Rājputras or 'princes']. Thus the new Kshatriyas and the Rājputs became identical terms,

and the portions of northern plains originally settled by them got the name of Rājputānā.

One of these Rājput races the Gujjaras who in the first half of the eighth century ruled Eastern Rājputānā and Mālwa. The ruling family belonged to the Pratihāra clan and hence the dynasty of king is known in history as the **Gurjara Pratihara**. The Arabs who had conquered Sind in 712 A.D. despatched about 725 A.D. a formidable force which having overran Cutch, Kāthiāwār, Northern Gujarat and Southern Rājputānā, knocked at the gates of Western Mālwa. The Pratihāra chief, *Nāgabhaṭa* gave them a crushing defeat and thus saved Northern India from the earliest Muhammadan invaders. This explains more than anything else why the earliest Muhammadan invaders of India, the Arabs, remained confined to that desert without penetrating into the heart of India. Nearly a century later his descendant Nāgabhaṭa invaded the Gangetic region and conquered Kanauj. The capital of this enlarged kingdom was then transferred from Ujjain to Kanauj. They remained in possession of Kanauj for two centuries until 1018-19 when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni occupied the city. Nāgabhaṭas' grandson, *Mihira Bhoja* was a powerful king of this dynasty. He enjoyed a long period of reign [c. 840-90 A.D.] over an extensive dominion, almost an empire, which included the cis-Sutlaj districts of the Punjab, most of Rājputānā, the greater part of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory. Being a worshipper of Viṣṇu, Mihira Bhoja assumed the title of *Adivarāha*, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Base silver coins inscribed with that title have been found abundantly in different parts of Northern India. Their abundance and provenance prove the long duration and wide extent of Bhoja rule. After Mihira Bhoja's death, his son *Mabendraṭapa* reigned for about two decades with undiminished prestige. During his reign, the great Prākṛit poet, Rājśekhara, the author of *Karpūra-māñjarī* lived in his court. He was succeeded first by his eldest son Bhoja II who died early and then by his younger son *Mabipāla*. The greatness of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj began to wave from his reign. In 916 A.D. the Rāshtrakūṭa king

Indra III, invaded Kanauj and captured it. Mahipāla in his distress, sought and obtained the help of the Chandella king of Jejākabhukti and recovered Kanauj. The next noteworthy king *Devāpāla* [c. 940-55 A.D.] lost the fort of Kalanjar to the Chandella king Yaśovarman and also had to surrender to him the much-prized image of Vishṇu which was the deity of his house. During the reign of his successor, *Vijayapāla* [c. A. D. 955-60], Gwalior became independent. His son and successor, *Rājyapāla* joined the confederacy of Hindu princes to oppose Sabuktigin and shared their defeat in 991 and finally in 1008 A.D. near the Kurram Valley. Early in 1019 Sabuktigin's son and successor the famous Mahmud Ghazni invaded Kanauj which fell into his hand rather easily. Rājyapāla who played the part of a coward retired to the other side of the Ganges leaving Kanauj in the hands of the victor. The names of the only two of his successors are known to history--*Trilochanapala* and *Jaśopāla*, who ruled over a much truncated kingdom of Kanauj. The former figures as the author of the Jhansi Plate Inscription granting this village to a Brāhman and the latter in the Kara Inscription granting the village of Pabhosā near Kauśāmbi to a resident of that place.¹

About the end of the eleventh century, Kanauj passed under the rule of the Gaharwār or Rāthor dynasty whose founder was *Chandradeva*. His grandson *Govindachandra* [1114-60] restored to a large extent the ancient glories of Kanauj as his numerous land grants and widely circulated coins prove. The fifth last king of this dynasty was *Jayachandra* [A.D. 1160-93] or better known as *Jaichānd* in the popular Hindi poems and tales of Northern India. His bitter feud with his cousin, the war-like Prithvirāja of Ajmer, in which other princes also were implicated as allies on both sides, gave the famous Muhammad Ghorī the long-sought for opportunity to invade Hindutan. His first invasion entirely failed,

¹ Both these inscriptions have been adequately noticed in the author's book *An Early History of Kauśāmbi*, pp. 95-99.

his host being decisively defeated by Prithivīrāja in the field of Tirouri or Tarain near Thāneśwar [A. D. 1191]. Two years later, Muhammad Ghori returned to the attack and defeated Prithivīrāja on the same battle-field [A. D. 1193]. The victory was followed by the capture of Ajmer and Delhi and was the beginning of the systematic conquest of India by the Muhammadans. In none of these two battles did Jaichand lend his powerful support but kept away in foolish petulance born of personal Jealousy of Prithivīrāja. From Delhi, Muhammad Ghori marched against Jaichand and defeated him on the banks of the Jumna near Etawah. Jaichand paid the price of his folly and unpatriotism with his defeat and death, being killed in battle. The victory was followed by the capture and sack of Kanauj and Benares. From now onward the story of the independent kingdom of Kanauj under Hindu Rājas was over. The city of Kanauj, as we have seen, played an important part as the capital of Harsha's empire and then during the intervening centuries as the centre of the greatest political activity in Northern India under the rule of the Gurjara-pratihāra dynasty and then of Gaharwār dynasty.

The ancient name of Bundelkhand was Jejakabhukti. It was included in the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. In the ninth century A.D. the **Chandella** chief Yaśovarman established an independent kingdom there and conquered Kālāñjara which became the strong hold of his kingdom. Mahobā was chosen as the capital. Besides the founder of the kingdom, the most eminent members of the dynasty were *Dhanga* and *Kirtivarman*. The former joined the Northern League against Mahīrud of Ghazni and the latter overthrew Karna, the powerful ruler of Chedi. Kirtivarman was a patron of learning. An interesting play entitled the *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* was produced and acted in the royal court. His memory is also preserved by a beautiful lake of the name of Kirat Sāgara, situated near Mahobā. The last Chandella Rājā to enjoy independence was *Paramal* who first submitted to Prithivīrāja Chauhān in 1182 and then to Kutb-ud-din in 1203 A.D.

The Chandella princes were great builders. In addition to the beautiful lake near Mahobā whose construction is attributed to

The Chandelias
of Bundelkhand.

Kirtivarman, a number of splendid temples built by them still exist at Khajurāho.

The Kalachuri dynasty of Chedi ruled over the region south of the Narmadā and North of the Godāvarī. Tripuri¹ near Jabbalpore was their capital. They also like the Chandella were at first subordinate to the Pratihāras and asserted their independence in the middle of the 10th century. The founder of this independent kingdom was *Lakshmaṇarāja* who is described as a conqueror and a hero. About the middle of the 11th century, the Chedi chief, *Karṇa* was humbled by the Chandella King Kirtivarman. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Chedi possessions were lost by the rise of independent dynasties of the Gaṇapatis of Warrangal, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Baghela Rājputs who named their region on the Narbadā Baghelkhand.

Another Rājput State, that of the **Paramaras of Malwa** rose on the ruins of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. The founder of the dynasty was a chief named *Upeṇḍra* [c. 820 A. D.] The Paramāras of Mālwa are noted for their patronage to learning. The seventh Rājā named Muñja [A. D. 974-95] was a great patron of poets and was himself a poet of no small reputation. The two famous writers, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika lived in his court. The most famous king of this dynasty was Bhoja, popularly known as Rājā *Bhoja* of Dhārā which was at that time the capital of Mālwa. He ruled for forty-two years [A. D. 1018-60]. Like Muñja he was an unstinted patron of learning. He himself was a learned author of many valuable works on astronomy architecture, the art of poetry and other subjects. He constructed a beautiful lake, the Bhojpur lake, which is situated south-east of Bhopal and occupies an area of 250 square miles. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Mid-

¹ In 1939 Tripuri, now reduced to a village had the distinction of being the venue of the 54th session of the Indian National Congress.

land Railway. He founded a famous Sanskrit College whose site is now occupied by a mosque at Dhāra. It is no wonder that Rājā Bhoja figures as a most enlightened king in history and fables. This accomplished prince fell a victim to an attack of the confederate kings of Gujarāt and Chedi. He was presumably the last independent ruler of the dynasty which lasted as a purely local power until the beginning of the 13th century when it passed over the rule of the Tomara dynasty and then of the Chauhāns.

The **Chauhan clan** of Rajputs ruled the principalities of Sambhar and Ajmer. In the middle of the 9th century, the Chauhān chief *Vīgraha-rāja* also known as Viśaladeva, conquered Delhi from the Tomara chief. He was a famous author and a great patron of literature. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous *Prithvirāja Chauhān* who played a conspicuous part in the history of India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest. The exploits of Prithivīrāja or Rai Pithore, famous in song and story, have been immortalised by his court poet Chand Bardai in his grand epic, *Prithvirāja Rāso*. There was a great rivalry between him and Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj who proved to be his sworn and implacable enemy. The story goes that the accomplished daughter of Jaichānd, Sanyuktā had developed tender feelings for Prithivīrāja, tales of whose brave deeds had reached her. Rājā Jaichānd held a *svayamvara* ceremony of his daughter to which were invited all the princes except Prithivīrāja who was represented by a statue to serve as a gate-keeper. The fathers' intention to insult her lover was, however, frustrated by Sanyuktā who placed the nuptial garland round the neck of the statue. During the night, Prithivīrāja, who was present in the city in disguise, carried her off after overcoming all opposition. In A.D. 1182, he captured Mahobā, the capital of the Chandella Rājā Paramal. Thus ruling over Sambhar, Ajmer, Delhi and Bundelkhanda, he was looked upon as the greatest king in Northern India. But the greatest reputation of Prithivīrāja rests on his gallant resistance to the flood of Muhammadan invasion led by Muhammad of Ghor.

This remarkable man who laid the foundation of Muhammadan rule in India was the chief of Ghor, a mountainous country to the east of Herat. It was at first a dependency of the kingdom of Ghazni. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, was nearly two hundred years before Shihābuddīn Ghori, had invaded India not less than seventeen times [1001-34 A.D.] and sacked the cities of India including Kanauj, Benares and Somanātha, was a mere raider and plunderer. He had built and beautified his capital Ghazni with the rich booty he had taken from India. The only permanent foothold he had left in India was the Punjab. About the middle of the 12th century A.D., hostility broke out between the House of Ghor and the House of Ghazni. Alauddin, king of Ghor, razed the magnificent city of Ghazni to the ground and set the ruins to flames. The kings of Ghazni found a shelter in their Indian foothold that had been created by Mahmud of Ghazni two hundred years ago. But the Ghorī kings followed the Ghazni rulers to India. Shihābuddin Ghori, the associate ruler with his brother Ghiyasud-din Ghori, wrested the Punjab from Khusru Malik, the last king of the House of Ghazni. The conquest of the Punjab brought the dominions of the Ghorī kings to the confines of the kingdom of Prithvirāja, the greatest king of Northern India at that time.

Taking advantage of the hostility between the two most powerful rulers of Northern India, Prithivirāja and Jaichand, Shihābuddīn Ghori who with a general's eye had been watching the situation for some time from the Punjab, led the first attack in 1191. The task of defending the independence of India devolved on Prithvirāja and he took it up with his characteristic valour. He organised a confederacy of the Hindu princes from which Jaichanda kept aloof. The two armies met on the field of Tarain or Tiraori between Thānesvara and Karnal. The vigorous charge led by Ghori to the centre of the Rājput army was ward off and a flanking movement led by Prithvirāja completely surrounded the invading army. Shihābuddīn Ghori just managed to escape with great difficulty. Prithvirāja won a decisive victory.

First battle of
Tarain 1190-91
A.D.

Two years later, the indomitable Sihābuddīn returned to the attack. Prithivīrāja and his allies again met him on the same battle-field as before. This time his army was completely routed. He stood his ground resisting to the last minute and was captured. The invader killed his royal and gallant captive in cold blood. With the death of Prithivīrāja, the sun of Hindu glory set for ever. The victory of Tarain was followed by the occupation of Ajmer and Delhi. Jaichānd could not escape the nemesis that overtook Prithivīrāja and his allies. He paid the price of his unpartiotic conduct by falling a prey to the advancing host of the invaders on the battle field near Etawah in 1194. Kanauj and Benares were occupied and sacked by Muhammad Ghori. The foundation of the Muhammadan rule in India was firmly laid and quickly extended to include Bihar and Bengal.

The eastern portion of Harsha's empire including Bihar and Bengal broke up into petty chieftainship until the eighth century A.D. when a powerful chieftain, *Gopāla*, wielded the petty chieftainships into a united and consolidated kingdom. He was a pious Buddhist and founded a great monastery at Uddantapura¹. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Pāla dynasty. His son and successor, *Dharmapāla* [c. 780-815 A.D.] had a long and successful reign. According to the Tibetan historian Tārānātha, his rule extended from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jalandhar in the north and the valleys of the Vindhya range in the south.² This is supported by the fact that he dethroned Indrāyudha, king of Pañchāla and installed in his place *Cakrāyudha*. Like his predecessor, he was a devout Buddhist and founded the famous monastery of Vikramaśilā which grew to be great Buddhist University of the type of Nālandā. He died about 815 A.D. and was succeeded by his son, *Devapāla* [815-850 A.D.]

¹ The modern town of Bihar Sharif.

² EHI, 4th Ed. p. 413.

who was one of the most powerful kings of the Pāla-dynasty and enjoyed a long reign. Devapāla's cousin and general Jayapāla conquered Assam and Kāliṅga. He also humbled the powers of his Dravidian and Gurjara rivals. He had diplomatic relation with the kings of Sumatra who got Devapāla's permission to erect a splendid monastery at Nālandā. Like his predecessor, Devapāla was a zealous Buddhist, making war on the unbelievers. The Buddhist poet, Vajradatta lived in his court and composed the well-known work, *Lokeśvara Śataka*, the 'Hundred Stanzas' describing in the greatest detail the figure and praising the many qualities such as love and mercy of Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara. The ninth king of the dynasty was Mahipāla who is best remembered for having defeated Rājendra Choḷa when the latter invaded Bengal. He was the last great Pāla king. With him ended the glory of the Pāla rule. The dynasty sank into insignificance during the regime of his weak successors. In the opening of the 12th century A.D., the Senas overthrew them from Bengal and at the beginning of the next century, they lost Bihar to the Muslim conquerors.

The Pāla rule was remarkable for many things. Not only Bengal became one of the greatest powers under Pāla rule, it was marked by great intellectual and artistic activities. The famous painters, sculptors and bronze-founders, Dhīmāna and Bitpāla flourished in the Pāla empire under royal patronage. As we have already noticed, two famous monasteries and centres of learning at Vikramaśilā and Uddantapura were established by the Pāla kings. Buddhist monks were sent to Nepal and Tibet to preach Buddhism. At the same time, it must be stated that corruptions in Buddhism in the form of Vajrayāna and Tāntricism definitely degraded Buddhists during this period.

The founder of the Sena dynasty in Bengal was *Vijayasena* [c. A.D. 1119—58] who wrested a considerable portion of Bengal

The Senas of
Bengal

from the Pālas and declared himself independent. He carried on successful wars with other powers and enjoyed a long reign on a new basis and the founder of *Kulinism* by mean of regrouping the Brāhmins and Kayasthas into superior and inferior grades.

For instance,, the Mukherjis, Banerjis and Chatterjis among the Brāhmins and the Ghoshas, Boses and the Mitras among the Kayasthas of Bengal are *Kulins* or superior to the rest of their caste-fellows. Ballāla Sena was succeeded by his son, *Lakshmāṇa Sena* [c. A. D. 1170-1200] who was overthrown by Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyār, whom Kutubuddin had sent to conquer Bihar and Bengal.

The Sena kings were orthodox Hindus and were hostile to Buddhism. Ballāla Sena himself was inclined to the tantric form of worship. They were liberal patrons of Sanskrit literature. Ballāla Sena was himself an author and the two famous poets of Bengal, Dhoyika who wrote *Pavanadūtā* an imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtā* and Jayadeva, author of the *Gītāgovinda*, lived in the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

SOCIAL CONDITION AND CULTURE IN THE RAJPUT PERIOD

In spite of their foreign origin the Rājputs regarded themselves as coming of the bluest blood in the country, traced their pedigree to Indian gods and heroes and quickly developed into a proud and haughty aristocracy with its privileges of which they were intensively jealous. At the same time, consistent with their pride of aristocracy, they developed a spirit of chivalry. The Rājput's ruling passion was war, but he was merciful to the fallen foe who asked for quarter. "A suppliant who had taken sanctuary by his hearth was sacred."¹ The Rājputs honoured their women and staked their lives to protect them and their honour. They offered the stiffest resistance to the foreign invaders, but once they submitted before the superior force and gave their oath of fealty to the Liege-lord, they maintained their loyalty to him even against

A Proud Aristocracy :

¹ Rawlinson: India, p. 201.

provocations until the Lord himself broke his promise or his part of the bargain. Their women, like men, were inspired to lofty ideals of women-hood—devotion to and affection for husband and relations, chastity, truthfulness and patriotism. There are innumerable records of their smilingly entering the fire to save their honour. [*Janbar*] or accompanying the dead husband to the funeral pyre [*Sati*].

The Rājput was extremely loyal to his clan and the clanish chief. To be able to die in the battle-field for the honour of the clan or to protect his chief from death or
 Clanish Patriotism wound was welcomed as a personal triumph.

A Rājput was proud and touchy, quick to take offence and to retaliate. Rājput history is replete with the events of bloody feuds among the clans, sometimes for the flimsiest of cause. 'A sanguinary campaign was once fought because a rājā, when out hawking, picked up a partridge which had fallen over his neighbour's boundary' [lb.]. In this the Rājput can be compared to the Scottish Highlander. His intense and exclusive clanish loyalty confined to the person and territory of his chief made him blind or indifferent to the larger patriotism of the whole of India. The result was that when foreign armies invaded India, they were more often than not met singly, each individual clan in its turn, with disastrous results for the country. On the few occasions they combined, as history records, against foreign invaders, the unity was not so much because they were inspired by a vision of India's political integrity as a whole, but by a chivalrous response to call to succour a brother prince in danger. If they could only shake off their mutual rancour and jealousy against the common foe of their country and organise themselves into some sort of enduring confederacy, the history of India would have been different indeed!

The Rājput loved and honoured their women-folk. The Rājput woman enjoyed great freedom and enjoyed the ancient Kshatriya right of maiden's choice. The
 The Position of Women *Svayamvara* form of marriage of which we hear so often in the annals of Rājputāna was not

confined to the rich and royal classes. Even among the common folk the girl was allowed to choose her mate, or her consent was sought for marriage settled by her father. She generally married after attaining her majority. According to the contemporary records of the learned Muslim scholar Alberūnī, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India and wrote an account of the country [Alberūnī's India, English trans. by Sachau], "Women were all educated and took an active part in public life. Girls could read and write and understand Sanskrit. They learned to play, dance and paint portraits. The Rājput woman was inspired by lofty ideals of woman-hood. She was devoted to her husband and affectionate to her kinsmen. She was chaste in conduct and patriotic in spirit. There are innumerable records in Rājput history of her smilingly entering the fire to save her honour [*Janbar*] or accompany the dead husband to the funeral pyre to show her devotion and admiration of her husband killed in battle [*Satī*]. *Janbar* was a mass-suicide in order to escape defilement, worse than death, at the hands of the foreign victor. This was when the Muhammadans invaded the land, the women in a besieged town generally committed this rite when all hope of victory vanished. *Satī*, on the other hand, was an individual act of suicide by the widow when her lord she admired and worshipped died fighting in battle. This is how Todd describes an incident of this nature in connection with the first siege of Chitor in his inimitable style: The widow addresses the page who had seen her husband fall;

"Boy, tell me, even I go, how bore himself my Lord?"

"As a reaper of the harvest of battle! I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain, whereon a barbarian his pillow, he sleeps resigned by his foes."

"Yet once again, oh boy, tell me how my Lord bore himself?"

"Oh mother, who can tell his deeds. He left no foe to dread or to admire him."

She smiled farewell to the boy and adding, 'my Lord will chide

my delay', sprang into the flames." [Todds' *Annals and Antiquities*, 1914 Edn. I, 246]¹.

The Rājput kings were great patrons of art and literature. Drama in particular flourished in the courts of many Rājās, some of whom were themselves authors of repute.

Literature Rājā Muñja was gifted with poetic talents of high order. The great Paramāra ruler, Rājā Bhoja of Dhārā was a reputed author of many books on different subjects such as medicine, astronomy, grammar, religion, architecture, poetics, lexicography, arts, etc. Among his works may be mentioned the following: *Ayurveda Sarvasva*, *Rājamrigāṅka*, *Vyavahāra-samucchaya*, *Śabdānusāsana*, *Yuktikalpataru*, etc. Of the later authors, the foremost was Rājaśekhara, who lived at the court of Mahendra Pāla of Kanauj [c. 900 A.D.]. His drama *Karpūramañjarī* is entirely in Prākṛit. Another important work is the famous, *Gītagovinda* or the 'Song of the Cowherd' written by Jayadeva, the poet laureate of king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal [1200 A.D.]. This poem, half drama, half lyric, describes the loves of Kṛishṇa and the milkmaids and in particular, his beloved Rādhā. At the sametime a flourishing school of literature arose in the court of Kāśmīra kings at Srinagar. Kalhaṇa wrote his famous metrical chronicle the *Rājatarangiṇī* [River of Kings] and Somadeva his famous *Kathāsaritsāgara* or Ocean of Tales. The period also witnessed a new departure in the rise of the vernaculars. The Rājput bards begin to sing in Hindi the heroic deeds of their patrons and those of their ancestors in stirring language of the people. The most famous of these bards or Chāraṇas was Chānd Bardāi. In his famous book *Prithvirāja Rāso*, he celebrates the exploits of his patron king, Prithvirāja.

¹ The earliest epigraphic record of *Sati* in 510 A.D. was that of the widow of Goparāja, a vassal-chief of Bhānugupta who died fighting against the Huṇa king Mihirakula [C.I.I.III, p. 92f.]. The Rājput women followed this ideal. Later the practice was reduced to more or less meaningless and cruel custom, which forced many unwilling victims to the pyre as in Bengal. This rightly led to the total abolition of this rite in the time of Lord Bentinck.

The Rājputs were great builders. Their irrigation works, bathing places, reservoirs, and fortresses testify to their skill of engineering and architecture. The noble and strong fortresses of Chitor, Ranthambhor, Mandu and Gwalior are conspicuous examples of their architectural skill. Other fine examples are the Palace of Mansingh at Gwalior, the Palace of the Winds at Udaipur, and the buildings at Jaipur, that 'the rose-red city, half as old as Time'. Many of those cities and palaces stand by the site of beautiful artificial lakes, but the castle of Jodhapur, like those of mediaeval Europe, is perched upon a lofty and inaccessible rock overlooking the town, with growing bastions and battlements. Even Bābur, usually a severe critic of Indian kings, praised these edifices as singularly beautiful, with 'their domes covered with plates of copper-gilt'.¹

The mediaeval Hindu temples of the Northern or Indo-Aryan type as distinct from their southern or Dravidian counterparts are noted for their lofty ribbed curvilinear or bulging spire. It is surmounted by a large cushioned shaped block of stone called *Āmalaka*. On it stands the *Kalasa* or the Vase-shaped pinnacle. An example of temples of this style built during the period under review, is the beautiful *Lingarāja* Temple at Bhuvaneśvara. It has a spire of 180 feet high, rising imposingly above the surrounding buildings. Another notable group exists in Khajurāho in Bundelkhanda. In these, the lofty spire is made up of a number of smaller ones, and the sides are richly decorated with sculptures. A particularly ornate and floral school of architecture sprang up in Gujrāt under the patronage of Solanki kings of Anhilavād, as can be gathered from the beautiful Triumph Arch built during that period. The mediaeval Hindu architecture finds its highest expression in the Jaina temples which crown the summits of Mount Abu in Southern Rājputana. The most beautiful temple of this type is that of Tejapāla, whose halls

of pure white marble show excellent and delicate workmanship of what Fergusson speaks in enthusiastic admiration: "The lace-like delicacy of the fairy forms into which the patient chisel of the Hindu has carved the white marble." Regarding the pendant form of the Centre Dome of Tejpāla's temple the admiration is still higher: "It appears like a cluster of half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent and so accurately wrought out that it fixes the eye in admiration." [Ib. p. 218].

CHAPTER XV

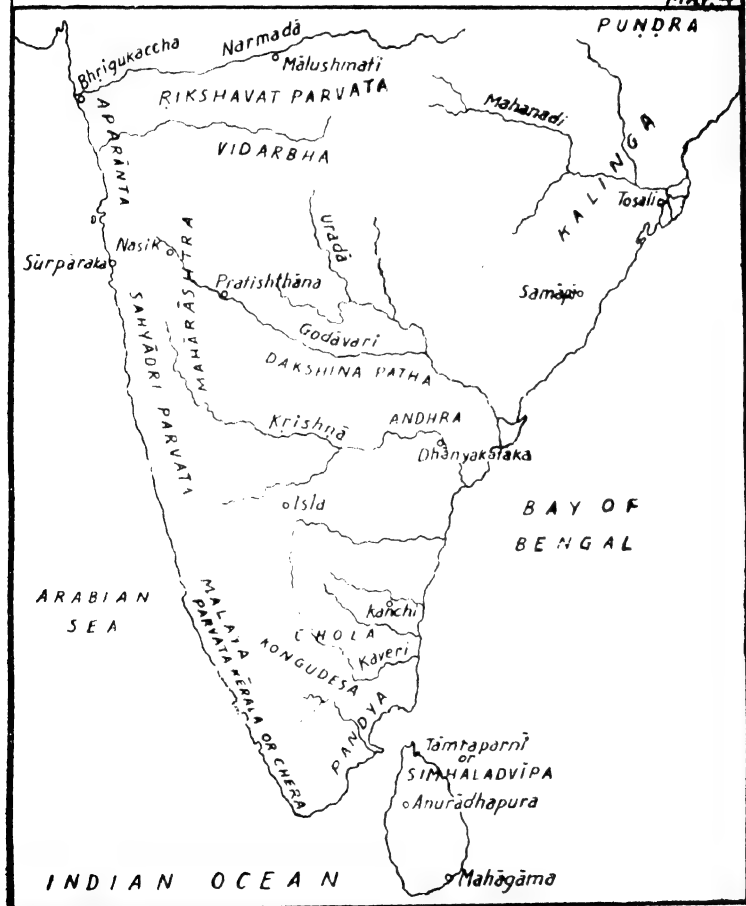
THE DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN

Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan forms the northern-most part of the South-Indian Peninsula. It lies between the Vindhya mountains and the Tungabhadra river. South of the river lies the South proper containing the ancient kingdoms of Chera, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. For a long time after the advent of the Aryans into this country throughout its northern gate, the Dakṣiṇāpṭha was a sealed book to them. Either the great barriers—the Vindhya mountains, the Narmadā and the Mahākāntāra—discouraged their advance, or they did not feel the urge for further economic expansion into the rich plains of Northern India providing them with enough food and pastures.

We are, therefore, in complete darkness as to the early history of the Deccan except stray references in the Books of Brāhman Early References. writers whose knowledge of the country or its people was at least based on hearsay. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [VII. 18] speaks of the Deccan as being inhabited by the Andhras, Pauṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas who were descendants of the sons of the Vedic seer, Viśvāmitra. The epics speak of the land as covered by dense forests, haunted by demons and aboriginal tribes, Rākshasas and Dasyus, and Kaikeyī chose Daṇḍakāranya [Mahārāshṭra] infested with demons as the home of the banished Rāma during the period of his exile, hoping that he would not come back alive pañchavaṭī where Rama settled in the Dandaka forest, is identified with the now holy city of Nāsik at the source of the Godāvārī. Rāma's episode in the Deccan as described in the Rāmāyaṇa has, perhaps, a historical back ground: viz., the political advance of the Aryans into that land. A still earlier epic tradition has it that the great sage Agastya was the first Rishi to spread Āryan religion and culture

ANCIENT DAKSHINĀPATHA

MAP 4



and establish a settlement beyond the Vindhya mountains. If the tradition has any historical truth, this cultural penetration must have preceded the political domination and taken place about the close of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B. C. At the beginning the cultural Aryanisation of the Deccan was confined to a limited area near its northern and eastern boundaries. Pāṇini [c. 700-500 B. C.] refers to the Dakṣiṇāpatha whose geography extended only up to Kalinga. Āpastamba [c. 500 B. C.], one of the top-rank authors of the Sūtra literature is said to have been born in the Deccan. By his time the penetration must have extended to include a wider territory and the Aryan immigrants have been large enough to require a special manual for domestic rites [*Grihyasūtra*] and a manual of social conduct [*Dharma Sūtra*], prepared by someone among themselves. Kātyāyana [c. 400 B. C.] who wrote a commentary [*Vārtika*] on Pāṇini's grammar refers to Dakṣiṇāpatha which included besides Mahishmat and Nāsikya, the Choḷas and Pāṇḍyas also. Kauṭilya [c. 400 B. C.], the author of the *Arthasāstra*, was also familiar with the extreme South as he refers in his book to a kind of pearl in the Pāṇḍya country. The systematic advance of the Aryans into the South and the resultant conflict between them and the Dravidians, as can be gathered from Rāma's episode of exile and was described in the Rāmāyaṇa, also throws light here and there on the nature of civilisations of the two peoples. In spite of the fact that the epic paints the non-Aryans of the South as Rākshasas and Dasyus as the vedas had done their compatriots in the North, certain unwary admissions go to show that the Dravidians had developed a civilisation not inferior to that of the invaders, and in some respects superior to them. For instance, the Dravidians knew the art of building castles and fortresses which the Aryans had to invest before taking them. They generally lived in pucca house, while the Aryans prepared huts of mud and bamboo. The Aryan invaders could not easily defeat the Dravidians. Sometimes they had to take resort to unfair means to defeat such powerful Dravidian rulers as Bāli and Rāvaṇa, creating divisions among the ranks of the army of resistance being a common stratagem of the Āyansr,

Even the victorious Aryan hero Rāma begged to be enlightened in statecraft by the dying Rāvaṇa.

It was in the time of the Mauryas that we get a definite historical evidence of the political conquest of the Deccan by a northern ruler. But the Mauryan empire, however, did not include the countries of the extreme South. Asokas' inscriptions mark the limit of his empire as far as Mysore. His Rock Edict XIII definitely refers to the Pāṇdyas and Cholas as independent countries beyond the southern frontiers of his empire; but Bhojas, Pitenikas, Andhras, and Palidas were within his dominions. The Pitinikas has also been mentioned in association with the Rīṣṭikas or Rāṣṭrikas in R.E.V. The Bhojas were the people of Berar. The Pitinikas were the inhabitants of the District of Paithan. About the origin and home of Andhras we have discussed already [*Supra*, p. 171 f.]. The Palidas or Pulindas were, perhaps, the wild tribes. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Asoka sent a mission to the Deccan with the monk Rakkhita who penetrated as far as Banavāsī [in North Kanara]. He is said to have made 60,000 converts. One of Asoka's Dharma-mahāmātras was appointed to work among them [R. E.s V and XIII].

After the downfall of the Mauryan empire the Deccan was under the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas for about 300 years until 300 A.D. [*Supra*, pp. 170 and 178]. The Vākātakas, a Central Indian power, ruled a considerable portion of the Deccan until about 600 A.D., when the Chālukyas became a dominant power in the Deccan.

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VĀTĀPI [Badami]

About A.D. 550 the great Chālukya dynasty sprang into prominence in the Deccan. As to their origin any definite evidence is lacking. Dr. Vincent Smith says that the Chālukyas or Solāṅkis were of foreign origin, being part of a horde of Gurjara invaders from Central Asia¹. The name still survives in the Chālukya or

¹ EHI, 4th Ed. p. 440.

Solañki family among the Marāṭhā¹. Indian traditions, however, provide them with a pedigree going back to the city of Ajodhyā and that they were a Kshatriya race and their progenitor was Hārīti. In Yuan Chwang's records [Watters, II p. 239], Pulakeśin II is described as a Kshatriya by birth.

The Aihole-Meguti Inscription of S.E. 556 = A.D. 634 provides us with the genealogy of the western chālukya kings upto Pulakeśin II. The first king mentioned

Early Chalukya
Kings of Badami. in the list is *Jayasimha*. His son and successor was *Raṇarāja*. We know nothing more than their names. The third king was *Pulakeśin I*, the son and successor of *Raṇarāja*. He made Vātāpi [mod. Badami in the Bijapur District] his capital. According to an inscription recently discovered of S.E. 465² = A.D. 543 Pulakeśin I took the title of *Vallabheśvara* and performed an *Aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice. His successor was *Kirtivarman*. He greatly increased the power of the dynasty by defeating the Mauryas of North Konkan and the Kadambas of Banavāsī. He is recorded to have penetrated also into Bihar and Bengal in the north and Choḷa-Pāndya countries in the South. *Kirtivarman* died about the close of the sixth century A.D. He was succeeded by his brother *Mangaleśa* who evidently brushed aside the claims of his nephew Pulakeśin, the son of *Kirtivarman*. *Mangaleśa* is credited to have subjugated the country between the western and eastern seas and the Kalachuris of Northern Deccan. A great work of art, a beautiful cave-temple of Vishṇu, was excavated during his time at Badami. His last days were clouded by a civil war, between him and his nephew Pulakeśin II, who finally won in the contest for the throne against his uncle and his sons.

PULAKEŚIN II

As the foregoing lines will show Pulakeśin's early life was beset with trials and difficulties which he ultimately overcame. Although the son of a reigning monarch and heir to the throne,

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 160.

² The Leader, June 19, 1941.

his claim was brushed aside by his uncle who usurped the throne and wanted to pass it on to his own sons. But Pulakesin was a vigilant and vigorous youth, and started a civil war against overwhelming odds and ultimately succeeded in wresting his right from the usurper's hand. He ascended the throne of his father under the name *Pulakesin II* Satyāśraya to which he gradually added other titles as he made further conquests and won more laurels of war.

Genealogy

[Vide, Aihole-Meguti
Inscription of SE.

Jayasimha

556].

|
Ranarāja|
Pulakesin I

kīrtivārman

Mangālesa

|
Pulakesin II

Satyāśraya.

According to the Haidarabad Copper-plate grant of Pulakesin II [IA. Vol. VI, p. 72 ff] he ascended the throne in 609 A.D.; the grant having been made when 'Saka era 534 having passed in the third year of my own installation in the sovereignty.'

Taking advantage of the civil war between the uncle and nephew some of the conquered provinces revolted. Pulakesin brought them back under his rule. The Haidarabad

His Wars and
Conquests.

grant states that he "acquired the second name of 'supreme Lord' by victory over hostile kings who applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles. The Aihole inscription of the year 634 A.D., which is a comprehensive record of Pulakesin's wars and conquests, name the powers such as the Lātas, the Mālavas, and the Gurjaras whose chieftains 'were brought under subjection by punishment' [Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 237]. The same epigraph also refers to his war with

Harshavardhana: "Harsha whose lotus-feet were covered with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of the hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured wealth, was by him [Pulakeśin II] made to lose his mirth in fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle" [Ib; Ep. Ind. Vol. VI.] This victory over Harsha, naturally increased his power and prestige still further. The kings of Mahākosala and Kalinga became terror-stricken at his approach and hastily submitted to him. By 634 A.D., the date of his Aihole-Meguṭi record, he became the most dominant power in the South as Harshavardhana was in the North. The epigraph [Ib.] records that Pulakeśin's empire comprised three Mahārāshtrikas composed of 99 thousand villages.

Pulakeśin's great rivals in South India itself were the Pallavas. He defeated the Pallava prince Mahendravarman and threatened his capital Kāñchīpura [Conjeeveram]. Afraid of Pulakeśin's growing strength the states in the far south—the Chōlas, the Pāndyas and the Keralas readily entered into an alliance with Pulakeśin II.

According to an Arab writer Tabari [JRAS. No. XI, 1879, pp. 165-66] Pulakeśin established diplomatic relations with Persia.

Pulakeśin sent to his contemporary Iranian monarch Khusru II an embassy in 625 with letters and presents in order to establish friendly relations with the neighbouring state. Khusru II heartily reciprocated this move by cordially receiving the Indian ambassador and sending his own envoy to the court of Pulakeśin. Some scholars think that this event has been portrayed in one of the Ajaṇṭā Cave paintings.¹

Yuan Chwang visited Mo-ha-lacha [Mahārāshṭra] about 640-41 A.D. when Pulakeśin was on the throne of the Chālukyas.

The Chinese pilgrim speaks very favourably of the administration and economic condition of the country and the "proud and war-like" spirit of the people who were undaunted in war, revengeful for

¹ Sten Konow, however, doubts it. [IA. Feb. 1908, p. 24].

wrongs and grateful for favours. Of the king himself he says that Pu-lo-ke-she [Pulakeśin] a Kshatriya by birth and the head of a valiant people was an object of fear to his neighbours, but the benevolent nature of his administration made his vassals of his wide dominions serve him with loyalty and devotion¹.

Within a year of Yuan Chwang's visit to him when he was at the height of his power, a great disorder overtook him. The

His death. Pallavas who had suffered at the hands of the

Chālukyas now rallied under the leadership of their able prince Narasimha Varman who invaded Pulakeśin's territory and in the battle that ensued Pulakeśin was defeated and killed and his capital Vātāpi stormed and plundered [642 A.D.].

Chālukya power was not, however, completely broken, but only remained in abeyance for about thirteen years after which *Vikramāditya* I, a son of Pulakeśin II, recovered his father's throne, defeated the Pallavas and even captured their capital Kāñchi. He reigned from 654 to 680 A.D. and was succeeded by his son *Vinayāditya* [c. 680-696 A.D.], who according to an epigraph [*Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 129] acquired "the insignia of supreme domination by crushing the Lord of all the reign of the north" [*Sakalottara-patha-nātha*]. His contemporary ruler in the north at that time was Ādityasena who assumed the title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja which his successors continued to assume [*Supra*, p. 305]. If he was to be identified with the ruler named in the inscription, it was certainly an exaggeration of the praśastikāra to call him the lord of the whole of the North. *Vinayāditya* was succeeded by his son *Vijayāditya* [c. 696-733 A.D.] whose son was *Vikramāditya II* who reigned from c. 733 to 747 A.D. He carried on the hereditary hostilities with the Pallavas, defeated their king Nandivarman and captured their capital Kāñchi. He also carried on wars with the Cholas and the Pāndyas. During his time the Arabs who had established themselves in Sindh in

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 225; Watters, II, p. 239.

712 A.D. invaded the Deccan. Vikramāditya met the invading hosts and defeated them. This was a glorious achievement which saved the Deccan from Arab domination. But this was the last great work of the Chālukyas, for under the next king *Kirtivarman II* the favourite son of Vikramāditya II, the Western Chālukya power was destroyed by the Rāshtrakūtas in 741 A.D. [Ep. Ind. XXV, pp. 25-31].

The Chālukya rulers of Badami were staunch Brāhmanists but they were tolerant to both Jainism and Buddhism. During the period of their rule Jain religion was practised by a large section of the people in complete freedom. *Ravikīrti*, a Jain, who composed the Aihole *prastāvi* and represents himself as a poet was patronised by Pulakeśin II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jain temple to Pandita Udayadeva [Ind. Ant. VII, p. 112]. Vikramāditya II repaired a Jain temple and gave a grant to another learned Jain named Jayapandita [Ind. Ant. VII, p. 197]. Although Buddhism was on the wane, a good number of monasteries and stūpas still remained in the kingdom of the Chālukyas as evidence of their tolerant policy, when Yuan Chwang visited their country. The Chinese pilgrim testifies to the existence of above 100 Buddhist monasteries and 5,000 Buddhist monks existed in the country. In and around the capital were "five Asoka topes [stūpas] and there were innumerable other topes of stone and brick" [Watters II, p. 239].

Buddhism was being gradually suppressed by Jainism and Brāhmanical Hinduism. The sacrificial form of worship received special attention. Many formal treatises on the sacrificial form of worship were composed. Pulakeśin I alone performed a number of great sacrifices, e.g. Aśvamedha, and Vājpeya etc. The Prṇānic form of Hinduism grew in popularity. Everywhere elaborate temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva and other deities of the Purāṇic pantheon were erected. Even in their ruins they form magnificent relics of the Chālukyan art.

Religious Toleration.

Revival of Hinduism.

CHĀLUKYA ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The building of excavated cave temples of Hindu gods in imitation of their Buddhist and Jaina counterparts was one of the achievements of the Chālukya art. One of the Cave Temples. earliest works of this class is that made at Badami in honour of Vishṇu [*Supra*, p. 361] by Maṅgaleśa Chālukya about the close of the sixth century A.D. Both Ajaṇṭā and Ellora were situated in the dominions of the Chālukyas. A record of the famous Chālukya King Pulakeśin II remains in a fragmentary painting in the first monastic hall at Ajaṇṭā, representing the reception of a Persian embassy [*Supra*, p. 363]. Besides the painted halls, the Ajaṇṭā Caves include a number of Chaitya-halls, ranging from the second century B. C. to the seventh century A.D. Some of the latest of them were probably executed in the time of the early Chālukya Dynasties.

Also in structural buildings of stone finely joined without mortar, the Chālukya period has many to be proud of. The beautiful stone temple of Śiva at *Meguti* which The Meguti Siva Temple shows the art of stone-building in its perfection, was erected in about 634 A.D. and contains the *prasaṣti* on Pulakeśin composed by Ravikīrti. The *Vishṇu Temple at Aihole* is one of the best preserved temples. The Aihole Vishṇu-Temple It bears an inscription of Vikramāditya II [*Ind. Ant. VII*, p. 286]. It is built in stone on a rock in Buddhist Chaitya hall style. The temple is distinguished by its extraordinary fine sculpture. The two superb high-flying *Devas* are excellent in design and execution. The Chaitya-cell is placed in a pillar hall with a pradakṣhiṇā-patha, round the shrine.

Not far from Badami and Aihole is the famous *Virupākṣha Temple at Pattadakal*. It bears an inscription of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya who ruled from A.D. 733 to 747 A.D. The plan is this : In front of the *antarāla* —the hall of the priests—is a pillared mandāpam or the meeting place of the people, about 50 ft. square. The roof is supported by sixteen monolithic pillars with sculptural

The Pattadakal
Virupākṣha Temple

bracket capitals, and the enclosing walls on each side were pierced by four windows. The temple, says Havell, "combines the stateliness of the classic design of Europe with fervid imagination of gothic art."

THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS

The new power which destroyed the Chālukya supremacy in the Deccan is that of the Rāshtrakūṭas. They were at first subordinate to the Chālukyas of Badami, when the latter were at the height of power. About 757 A.D. the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa chief, *Dantidurga* defeated the Chālukya king, *Kirtivarman II* and laid the foundation of Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy in the Deccan. He was succeeded by his uncle *Krishnarāja I* who is remembered for having constructed the famous rock-cut temple Kailāśa [Śiva] Temple at Ellora. *Krishnarāja* was succeeded by his son *Govindarāja II* who was a powerful king and defeated the Gurjara king *Vatsarāja* who ruled in Sothern Rājputānā. *Dhruvarāja's* son and successor *Govinda III* destroyed the Western Gaṅga king of Mysore and defeated *Dantivarman* of Kānchi. He became so powerful that his aid was invoked by *Dharmapāla* of Bengal and his protege *Chkrāyudha*, against the Gurjara king *Nāgabhaṭṭa* of *Bhuimāl* who had supported *Chakrāyudha's* rival *Indrāyudha* for the throne of Kanauj. *Govinda III* repeated his father's exploits by defeating the Gurjara king *Nāgabhaṭṭa III* and driving him to his desert home. *Govinda III* was succeeded by his son *Amogha Varsha I* in 814-A. D. He was the greatest king of the dynasty. He founded a new capital city *Mānyakheta* which still exists under the name of *Malkhed* in the *Nizam's* territory. He enjoyed a long reign of 63 years from 814 to 877 A. D. He was a patron of learning. He became a Jaina and liberally patronized the *Digambara* sect. He was succeeded by his son *Krishna II* during whose reign the Rāshtrakūṭa power evidently declined. He suffered defeats both at the hands of the Chālukyas of *Veṅgi* and the Gurjaras who had conquered Kanauj a few years ago and transferred their capital to that city. He died about 914 A. D. and was

succeeded by his grandson *Indra III* who revived the power and glory of the dynasty. He invaded Mālhwā, the southernmost province of the Gurjara empire of Kanauj and also sacked Ujjain. He then invaded the Gurjara capital, Kanauj, dethroned Mahipāla I and sacked the city. He was the last great king of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. His successors who all proved to be very weak rulers continued to rule a gradually diminishing territory until about 973 A.D. when the last of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king *Kakka II* was overthrown by Tailāpa, the founder of the new Chālukya dynasty known to history as the later Chālukyas.

THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS

The founder of the later Chālukya dynasty was *Tailapa* or *Taila*. From the name of the capital city Kalyāṇī, in the Nizām's dominions, the dynasty is also known as the western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. *Tailapa* was a powerful king. He successfully fought with the neighbouring powers the Chālukyas of Gujarāta, the Paramāras of Mālhwā, the Kalachuris of Chedi and the Choḷas in the South. The Paramāra king Munja died fighting with him. After a reign of forty-four years, Tailapa was succeeded by his son *Saty Śraya* about whom very little is known. His grandson *Jayasimha II* gave up Jainism and accepted the Śaiva religion. He lived in troublous times. He fought successfully against the Paramāra king Bhoja I but was defeated by the great Choḷa king Rājendra Choḷa I at the battle of Musangi. He was succeeded by his son *Someśvara I* in 1041. He founded the city of Kalyāṇī which henceforth became the capital of the Chālukyas. In his time, the Choḷa king Rājādhirāja invaded the Deccan plateau and defeated Someśvara at the battle of Koppam. Someśvara I was succeeded by his eldest son *Someśvara II*, who was deposed by his younger brother, *Vikramāditya* after a reign of four years in 1076 A.D.

Vikramāditya was the greatest of this dynasty. He greatly restored the prestige of his family and recovered some of the lost

territories. He also defeated Vishṇuvardhana, the Hoysala king of Mysore. He defeated Rājendra Choḷa II Vikramaditya VI when the latter invaded the Deccan plateau.

He founded a new era, known as the Chālukyan Vikrama era. He was a patron of learning and art. The famous poet Bilhaṇa and the celebrated Vijnāneśvara, the author of *Mi'āḷashara*, lived in his court. He was the last great king of the dynasty. After him, the Chālukya power declined during the weak rule of his successors. The feudatories asserted their independence one after the other. The last of the dynasty was Someśvara during whose reign the Yādavas of Devagiri overthrew it in 1190.

LATER CHĀLUKYAN TEMPLES

Between the earlier and the later Chālukyan temples there appear no traditional examples to bridge the gap except one or two. This dearth of buildings is explained by the temporary loss of political power of the Chālukyas in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas who held it until about A.D. 973. The latter Chālukya buildings after the restoration of power by Tailapa, on account of this long gap differs greatly in style and in the materials used in the buildings of the earlier period. The rougher grained sand-stone was replaced by the more compact and finer-grained blackstone known as Chloritic schist [a kind of soft stone] which dresses down to a much finer surface, and has enabled the sculptors to produce so much of that beautiful, delicate, lace-like tracery which characterises the later work and which it would have been difficult to produce in the coarser material. With it the circular shaft of the pillars have been brought to a very high state of polish. The temple of Kāśivisveśvara at Lakkundi in the Dharwar district is an elaborately decorated temple of this period. Even more elaborate is the carved work of the Mahādeva temple at Ittagi, six miles away. This is a much larger building than that of Kāśivisveśvara, it having possessed a large pillared-hall, which the other, does not.

It bears an inscription of Saka 1034 [A.D. 1112]. Other highly decorated temples of the same period are found in many places within the old Chālukyan boundaries, and there is hardly a village that has not some remains, for the Chālukyans, both the early and the later lines, were great builders. The more notable remains are found at Gadag, Kuruvatti, Haveri, Hanganal, Bankipur, and many other places. The little temple of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, at Gadag has some elaborately designed pillars, and there are no others that are equal to these for the crowded abundance of minute detail which covers the surface. At Kuruvatti there is a temple where some other fine figure brackets are exquisite in design and execution. There is no part of western India so full of inscribed tablets and memorial stones as the Kanarese districts—that is, the country of the Chālukyas.¹

THE HOYSALAS OF DVĀRASAMUDRA

The power which rose round the territory between the Cholas in the south-east and the western Chālukyas in the north-west and gave a lot of trouble to the latter in their declining period was of the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. The Hoysalas claimed descent from the moon. The founder of the greatness of the dynasty was *Vishṇuvardhana* who defeated the Cholas, the Kadamba chief of Goa, the western Chālukya chief *Vikramāditya* VI. Finally he defeated the Gangas in the decisive battle of Talakad. Having descended from the Deccan plateau, he occupied Coimbatore. In 1191, he overran some portions of the Malabar country and conquered the Tulavas of the South Kanara district. He was succeeded by his son *Narasimha* I. He reigned peacefully over the dominions acquired by his father. *Vishṇuvardhana* removed his capital from Belapura [Modern Belur] to Doarasamudra, also called Dvārasamudra [modern Halebid, about 10 miles north-east of Belur]. *Narasimha* I was succeeded by his son *Vira Ballāla* II about the end of the twelfth century. He

¹ The Architectural Antiquities of Western India by Henry Cousens, [1926].

greatly added to the Hoyasala dominions by defeating the Yādavas of Devagiri. He died in 1211 and was succeeded by his son *Narasimha* II whose reign was more or less uneventful.

Narasimha II was succeeded by his son *Someśvara* who reigned for about 24 years. After *Someśvara* his son *Narasimha* III reigned from 1254 to 1286. Both these kings had a long and bitter struggle with the Pāṇdyas of Madura. *Narasimha*'s son and successor *Vira-Ballāia* III [1310—1339] was the last king of the dynasty during whose time Malik Kafur occupied and sacked Dvārasamudra. He then removed the capital to Belur where he reigned as a tributary prince to Alauddin Khilji until he died in 1339.

Hoysala Art

Architecture, sculpture including decorative art received great encouragement by the Hoysala rulers. The great temple at Śravaṇa-Belagola, Belur and Halebid which still exist, excite our admiration. Some of the splendid sculptures of Vijayanagara discovered in the Mysore State were inspired by the Hoysala School. The beautiful *Īśvara* temple at Arsikere in Mysore State is one of the finest examples of the Hoyasala style of architecture. The visitor may particularly notice the stone-dome in the Mandapa, the beautifully carved *Garbhagriha* doorway, the *Navaranga* pillars sculptured on all four faces with figures of Viṣṇu, Bhairava, Durgā and the ceilings which show an elegant workmanship. The village of Halebid is the site of the ancient Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom. Here lies the "Panthenon" of Hoysala Art. The Hoysaleśvara Temple, the largest monument at Halebid is a veritable museum of magnificent sculptures. The material used in constructing it is greyish soap-stone which yields softly to the chisel thus making possible fine and elaborate carving but gets hardened by exposure. The temple has two large cells containing the Hoysaleśvara and Santaleśvara liṅgas respectively. "Though the sculpture of the Hoysaleśvara temple is marvellous, it is never obstrusive. Though each individual

figure is a work of art, sculpture is definitely used by the designer as a subordinate element embellishing the beauty of structure's architectural design."

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

The Yādavas who originally lived in the Belagaum district as feudatories of the western Chālukyas became independent and afterwards became a paramount power in Western India after the Chālukyas. The Yādavas were Marāṭhis proper and lived in the heart of the Mahārāshṭra country, extending from Nāsik to Devagiri [modern Daulatabad]. The founder of the independence of the Yādava dynasty was *Bhillama* V, who flourished about the end of the twelfth century. He founded the city of Devagiri where he crowned himself in 1187. He came into conflict with the Hoysalas with whom he fought several wars with alternate successes and defeats. The most powerful king of the dynasty was *Simhana* who established the supremacy of the Yādavas south of the Krishṇā by defeating the Hoysala king Vallāla II. In the north *Simhana* defeated the Andhra king Vīra Kokkala of the Telegu country and Arjunavarman of Mālhwā. He also invaded Gujarāt several times. His son Rāmachandra advanced as far as the Narbadā. *Simhana* died in 1246 leaving an extensive kingdom which included the whole of the western Deccan and Central Deccan with the exception of the extreme south. The last independent king of the dynasty was *Rāmachandra* who was surprised in 1194 by Alauddin Khilji who suddenly appeared before Devagiri from Kara. Rāmachandra threw himself into the fort of Devagiri and was closely besieged by Alauddin. Rāmachandra's son, Saṅkara, who was out in another campaign, advanced towards Devagiri to relieve his father but was defeated by Alauddin's army, whereon Rāmachandra submitted to Alauddin.

The Yādava rulers, especially *Simhana* were great patrons of literature and art. *Simhana*'s private secretary, Sodhala was the father of Saranga Deva who wrote a splendid work on music called *Saṅgīta ratnākara*. A commentary of this work was written by a Reddi Chief Singha of the Telegu country in the 15th Century

A.D. The astronomer Changadeva, the grandson of the celebrated astronomer Bhāshkarācharya, lived in the court of Simhana. During the reign of Simhana's grand-son Krishṇa, two important Sanskrit works, *Sukti-muktavali* and *Vedānta-kalpataru*, a commentary on Vāchaspati's Bhāmati were composed. The famous scholar, Hemādri was the chief minister of the last Yādava king Rāmachandra. He was the author of the great work on Hindu Law, *Chaturvarga-Chaintamani*. Hemādri, the author of a new style in temple architecture, and Bopadeva, the author of great grammatical work *Mugdhabodha*, flourished in the Yādava period. The Yādava rulers built a large number of temples.

THE KADAMBAS

. After the downfall of the Andhra Dynasty a number of local dynasties grew up which continued to flourish with varying fortunes until they were absorbed by the all-conquering Chālukyas. The Kadambas were one of such local dynasties. Their home was in what is now known as Kanara, the country between the southern portion of the western Ghāt and the sea. They were at first feudatories of the Pallavas of Kāñchī. The Talagunda [Shimoga District, Mysore State] inscription [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 31 ff] graphically describes in ornate Kāvya style the story of how *Mayuraśarman* revolted against his overlord, the Pallava king of Kāñchī. The Inscription records: "In the Kadamba family there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūraśarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest. With his preceptor Virāśarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords, and, eager to study the whole sacred law entered the college as a mendicant student. There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman, he reflected, "Alas, that in the Kali Age, the Brāhmins should be so much feebler than the Kshatriyas! For if one has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Veda, the perfection of holiness depends on a king, what can be more painful than this?" And so, with a hand more dexterous in grouping the *Kuśa* grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter, and

the oblation vessel, he unsheathed the flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth. Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata...When the enemy, the king of Kāñchī, came in strength to fight him, he in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault, lighted up on the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength.....the Pallava Lords, having found out this strength of his, as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be of no advantage, so they quickly chose him for a friend. Then, entering the king's service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battle and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet offered by the Pallavas.....He also received a territory bordered by the water of the Western sea and bounded by the Prehara [river] secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it." [Ib.]

The above extract clearly shows that the founder of the Kadamba Dynasty was a Brāhman who carried on a successful war of independence for his people against his Pallava overlord who was a khatriya and who fell below his ideal of "the perfection of holiness." The Kadamba capital was at the ancient city of Vanavāsi in the forest which covered the Dharawār District. The numerous inscriptions, temples and other remains point to a well-governed and prosperous state. The rise of the Kadambas as an independent power took place about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The immediate successors of Mayūraśarnan were mere names until we come to *Kākusthavarman* who considerably increased the Kadamba power by wars and conquests. The next important Kadamba ruler was *Ravivarman* who reigned in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. He made successful wars both against the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas. He was the last great king of the early Kadambas who fell a victim to the rising power of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi in the middle of the sixth century A.D. The dynasty was not, however, altogether destroyed. About the end of the 10th century A.D. We find the later Kadamba princes again rising as a great powers after the downfall of the Rāshtrakūta

dynasty. The main centres of their power were Hangal [Dhārwar Dist.] and Goa.

THE GANGAS

Another dynasty which for some centuries played an important part in the history of the Deccan was the Gaṅgas whose territory comprised most of the country now known as Mysore. The Gaṅgas and their offshoots had a long and prosperous reign, lasting from the fourth to the 11th century A.D. The first and second kings of the dynasty known from Sasanakoṭa plates¹ were Kaṅkaṇa Varman and Mahādeva Varman. One of their kings was *Harivarman* who built a new capital at Talakād on the Kaverī in the Mysore district. *Durvinita* was a famous king of the dynasty. Great in war and learning, he successfully fought the Pallavas and is reputed to be the author of the Sanskrit version of the original *Bṛībatkathā* in the Paiśācī language. Many other works also are ascribed to him. Another great king of the dynasty was *Śrīpuruṣa* (c. 726-76 A.D.) who successfully fought against the Pallavas as well as the rising power of the Rāshtrakūtas. It is by the Rāshtrakūtas that they were humbled in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Finally about the close of the 10th century A.D. the Cholas captured their capital Talakād and their power finally destroyed.

The Gaṅgas were zealous patrons of the Jains. The colossal statue of the Jaina saint Gomateśvara at Śravana Belagola was erected by a minister of the Gaṅga king, Rājā Malla IV A.D. 984.

¹ E. I. XXIV p. 234 ff.

CHAPTER XVI

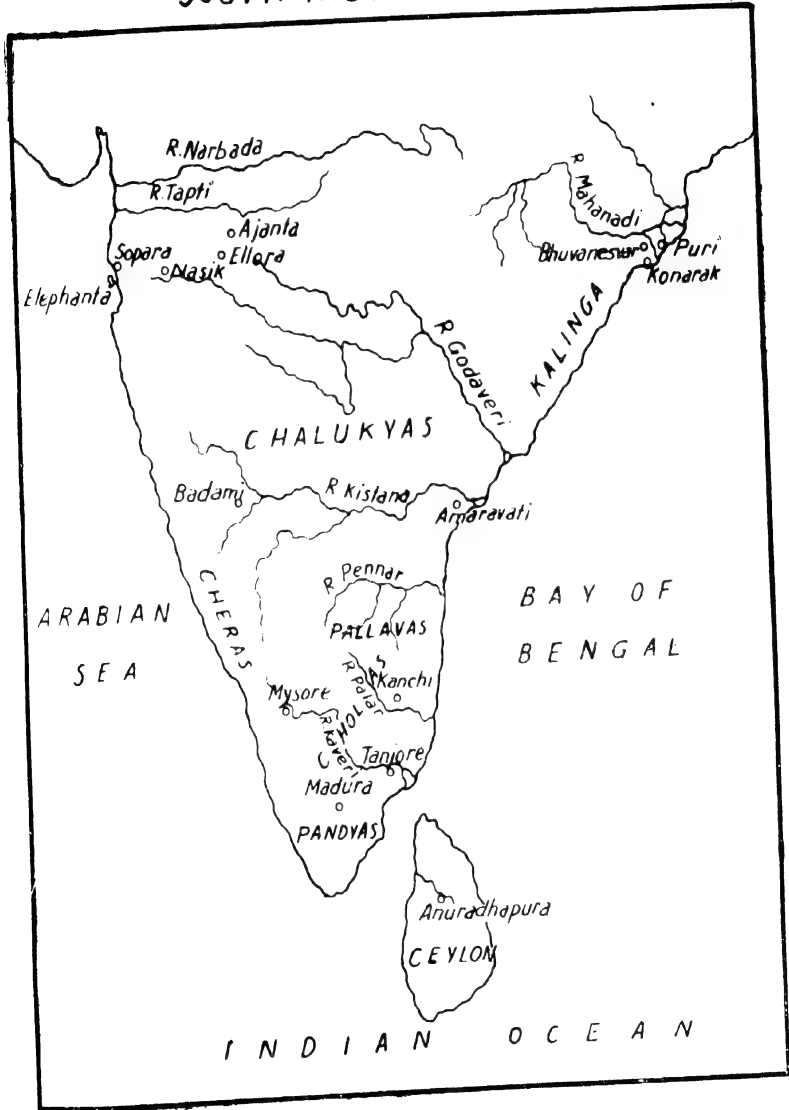
THE PALLAVAS AND THE TAMIL STATES OF THE SOUTH

Southern India or the Dravida Land corresponds roughly to the Madras Presidency and comprises that part of the Peninsula which lies to the South of the Krishnā and Tungabhadra rivers. Tamil is the oldest and principal Dravidian tongue; others are Telegu, Kanarese and Malayālam. Malayālam is a later development of Tamil. "Dravida and Tamil are two forms of the same word"¹ Dravidian India was early divided into three kingdoms, the *Pandya* in the extreme south, corresponding to the present Madura and Tinnevely districts, the *Cheras* or *Kerela* who were settled along the Malabar Coast, comprising the present states of Travancore and Cochin, and the *Cholas*, located to the north of the Pāndyas as far as the Pennār river., and along the east coast which for this reason was known as the Chola Mandalam or Coromandel coast.² The Indo-Aryan of the North could not establish their political dominance on the Tamil States. The Indo-Aryan cultural influence lightly touched only the fringe of the Dravida country. The three Tamil-states of Chola, Chera and Pāndya were outside the empire of even Asoka who, however, sent a Buddhist mission to those countries. The result was that the Dravida people developed their culture and language more or less unaffected by those of the Indo-Aryans of the north. The Dravidian architecture, their literature and their distinct types of civilisation, of which we shall deal more fully in a subsequent chapter, bear testimony to that fact. Before, however, narrating the history of the old Tamil States of the South referred to above, we shall deal with the history of an important dynasty, namely that of the Pallavas, which grew in the Dravida country about the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 177.

² Ib.

SOUTH INDIA IN C. 800 A.D. MAP.5



THE PALLAVAS

About the origin of these gifted people who played an important part in the history of the South for about 600 years we have little reliable information. They arose into prominence about 325 A.D. on the east coast in the region between the Pennar and the Pelar rivers, comprising a good bit of the northern portion of the Choḷa land [see Map. 3]. The Pallavas appear to have been intruders and to have formed no part of the original Tamil Kingdoms. The grammarian Kātyāyana [4th century B.C.] mentions the Pāṇḍyas and Choḷas. Megasthenes, [4th cent. B.C.] knew the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Asoka [3rd cent. B.C.] refers to the Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas [Cheras]. But the name of the Pallavas does not occur in any of the above sources. That the Pallavas were a branch of the Pahlavas or Parthians of North-Western India was the opinion of some scholars. Father Heras¹ recently revived this theory which has been generally abandoned by scholars as they do not find anything in it except superficial similarity in names. There is hardly any positive evidence of Pallava migration in South India. Another theory is that the Pallavas were an indigenous dynasty who rose to power on the dissolution of the Āṇḍhra empire. Their leaders collected round their numbers of Kurumbas, Morabas, Kallas and other feudatory tribes and formed them into a strong and aggressive power.² A third view is held by Mr. M. C. Rasanyagam [Ind. Ant. LII, pp. 72-82] that the Pallava dynasty arose out of the union of a Chola prince and the Nāga princess of Manipallavam [an island near the coast of Ceylon]. The son born out of this wedlock was made king of Taṇḍamaṇḍalam by his father and the dynasty he founded was named after his mother's island home. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's statement is somewhat corroborative of their Nāga extraction. He says [JIH, Vol. II pt. I, pp. 20-66] that the Pallavas have been mentioned as Toṇḍiyar in the Saṅgam Literature and

¹ Journal of the University of Bombay, Jan. 1936.

² Rawlinson, India, p. 194.

that they were descended from the Nāga chieftains who were vassals of the Sātavāhana kings. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, however, thinks [JBORS, March-June, 1923, pp. 180-83] that the Pallavas were a branch of the Brāhman royal dynasty of Vākātakas of the North and being militarists by 'profession carved out a principality in the South. But the Talagunda inscription, as we have seen [*Supra*, p. 373f.] clearly states that the Pallavas of Kānchi were Kshatriyas. Yuan Chwang who visited Kānchi about 640 A.D. says, among other things, that their writing and language differed only slightly from that of Northern India'. This statement, if accepted as true, goes a long way to prove their northern origin. It may also be noted in this connection that except their three early copper-plate charters which are in Prākṛit, their epigraphs are all in Sanskrit.

Whatever their origin, we find about A.D. 350 that the Pallavas established themselves on the east coast, in the Choḷa territory, and occupied the famous city of Kānchi [Conjeeveram], which, like Madura, was one of the great seats of learning of Southern India.

The earliest Pallava king of which we have any reliable information is *Vishnugopa* of Kānchi whom Samudragupta defeated when the latter led an expedition into the Deccan. Early Pallava kings Hastivarman of Vengi, a contemporary of Vishnugopa also probably belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The name of another Pallava king of Kānchi was *Simhavarman* who ascended the throne about 436 A. D. He was a Buddhist [ASR, Mysore, 1908-9, p. 31] The date is reduced from the colophon of a Jaina work which gives the Sāka year 380 as the 22nd year of Simhavarman king of Kānchi.

The genealogy of the Pallava kings beginning from Simhavishnu is well ascertained¹. He ascended the throne about 575 A.D. Simhavishnu claims to have inflicted several defeats on the kings of Ceylon and the three Tamil states.

¹ A.S.I., A.R., 1906-7, pp. 217-43; Hultzsch: the Pallava Inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas.

Mahendravarman I, son and successor of *Simhavishṇu* [c. A.D. 609-625] suffered several defeats at the hand of *Pulakesin II* and lost to him the Pallava territory of *Vengī* over which *Pulakesin* set his brother *Vishṇuvardhana*. It is probable that the loss of *Vengī* stimulated the Pallavas to push forward the Southern frontiers resulting in the conquest of *Trichinopoly*.

Mahendra was at first, a *Jaina*, and was converted to the *Saiva* faith by a famous *Tamil Saint Appar*. He was a great builder and excavated many rock-cut temples in the *Trichinopoly*, *Chingleput* and *North and South Arcot districts*. We are further informed by the epigraphs [Ep. Ind. XVII, pp. 14-17] that he also built temples in honour of *Brahmā*, *Īśvara*, and *Vishṇu*. He also built the famous reservoir, named after him the *Mahendra Tank*, near the city of *Mahendravāḍi* [North-Arcot Dist.], whose ruins still exist. A cave Temple, probably built by him, of *Vishṇu* still exists on the bank of the *Tank* [Ep. Ind. IV, pp. 152-53].

Mahendravarman I was succeeded by his son *Narasimhavarman I* [c. 625-645 A.D.]. The hereditary conflict with the *Chālukyas* was continued by him. He avenged the War with the defeat of his father by signally defeating the Chalukyas *Chālukyas* and taking their capital *Vātāpi* [642 A.D.]. *Pulakesin II* probably lost his life in that battle. The *Chālukya* power remained in abeyance for thirteen years, during which time the *Pallava* power became supreme in the South. This claim of his is established by an inscription [Ind. Ant. IX, p. 100]. found at *Badami* [*Vātāpi*] from which it appears that *Narasimha I* bore the title of *Mahamalla*.

During his reign *Yuan Chwang* visited *Kāñchī* and stayed for a considerable time. He described the country of which *Kāñchī* was the capital as *Draviḍa* and 1000 miles in circuit. Yuan-Chwang's visit The soil was fertile, well-cultivated and production plenty. The capital was large city, five or six miles in circumference and contained 100 Buddhist monasteries and 10,000 monks. *Jaina* temples numbered about forty. *Kāñchī*

is reckoned among the seven sacred cities of the Hindus and the birth place of the famous theologian Dharmapāla, the rector of Nālandā, first before Śīlabhadra [Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, pp. 228-29]. Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla built a wonderful seabeach town near Kānchi and within 32 miles of Madras and called it, after his own name Mahāmallapuram [Mahābalipuram]. The town is remarkable for the existence of many monolithic temples [*infra* p. 382] of which the Dharmarāja Ratha and probably several others were built by Narasimhavarman.

His son and successor *Mahendrarvarman II* about whose reign there is hardly any record of note. Mahendrarvarman's successor was *Paramesvaravarman*. During his time the old feud of his dynasty with Chālukyas revived. This time the table was turned on the Pallavas. According to a Chālukyan record [Ep. Ind. X, pp. 100-06] Vikramāditya I Chālukya recovered about 655 A.D. the fortunes of his family from the Pallava King Paramesvaravarman and captured Kānchi. This claim to victory is, however, disputed in the Pallava records. Paramesvaravarman was a worshipper of Śiva and built a number of Śaiva temples in his Kingdom.

About the close of the 7th century A.D., Paramesvaravarman was succeeded by *Narasimhavarman II* who assumed the *viruda Rajasimha*. Peace and prosperity reigned during his regime. He built the famous Kailāsanatha temple at Kānchi. He was a patron of letters.

The successor of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha was *Paramesvara II* about whom we know nothing. He was succeeded by *Nandivarman* about the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. Nandivarman belonged to a collateral branch, being descended from the time of Simhavishṇu's brother, Bhīmavarman. During his reign the Pallava-Chālukya conflict revived. Vikramāditya II Chālukya captured his capital which Nandivarman soon recovered. He also fought against the Pāṇdyas and the Rāshtrakūtas. He died after a long reign of more than sixty years. He was an adherent of Vaishṇavism and built a number of temples

in honour of his god. Nandivarman was succeeded by several princes ending in *Aparāji tavarman* [C. 876-95 A.D.] who having allied himself with the Gaṅga prince, Prithivīpati I against his hereditary enemies, the Pāṇḍyas, inflicted a crushing defeat on their king Varaguṇa II at the battle of Sri Purambiyam. But the fight continued with this other hereditary enemies, the Choḷas to whom he ultimately succumbed and his dynasty destroyed about the close of the ninth century A.D.

Like the distinguished members of his family Aparājītavarman was also a great builder and introduced a new technique in the art of building [*infra*].

The period of Pallava rule is marked by considerable literary activities. The Pallava rulers were great patrons of letters, especially of Sanskrit, which was the language used for all royal epigraphs, barring a few earlier ones. Literature Kāñchī was the seat of Sanskrit learning in the South. Brāhmins living in different parts of the Pallava country also cultivated it. Poems of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and works of Varāha-Mihira were well-known in the Pallava country. The Kurram Copper-Plate grant of Paramesvaravarman I was made for the recitation of the Mahābhārata in a maṇḍapa at the village of Kurram near Conjeevaram. In the village of Kurram there were 108 families that studied the four Vedas. Tamil classics also grew under royal patronage. The Tamil Kuṛaḷ of Triavalluvar was a work of recognised worth at the time.

The caves and structural temples and other architectural remains of the Pallavas form an important chapter in Hindu art.

There has been a regular evolution of the Pallava art of building with its different styles. [1] The first is what is called the *Mahendra style* [c. 600-625 A.D.]. The cave-temple inscription of Mahendravarman I at Mandagapattā [South Arcot Dist.], together with the inscription containing his *birudas* found in an ancient pillar embroidered in the *Ekāmbaranātha Sūamin temple* at Kāñchī proves that Mahendra introduced the cave-style, probably from the Krishnā district. Reference may also be made to the Jaina Pallava paint-

ing recently discovered in a cave-shrine at Sittanāvasal, Pudokōṭṭa State, assigned to the reign of Mahendravarman I. [2] The second is the *Māmalla style* [c. 625-674 A.D.]. The greater part of the work on the cave temples, the 'Descent of the Ganges' and the 'Five Rathas' at Māmallapuram seems to have been executed early in the seventh century. Of the cave temples, the *Trimūrti*, *Varāha*, *Durgā*, and *Five Pāṇḍavas* are the most important. The *Varāha*, like the *Five Pāṇḍavas*, has a verandah with the slender octagonal pillars supported by a sitting lion *śiṃha-stambha*, characteristic of a Pallava structure after Mahendra. In the *Varāha* Cave there is a series of well-known and magnificent reliefs, representing the *Varāha-Avatāra*, *Sūrya*, *Durgā*, *Gaja-Lakshmī*, and two fine groups of royal figures, representing *Siṅghavishṇu* and *Mahendravarman* with their queens. With these sculptures must be remembered the open rock-cut 'Tīrtham', commonly known as *Arjuna's* penance.

The *Five Rathas* at Mahābalipuram are all monoliths cut from a series of boulder-like granitic outcrops on the shore. All are of the same period, the first half of the seventh century and in the same style, though of varied form, evidently representing contemporary types of structural buildings. Named after the five Pāṇḍavas, they all appear to be Saiva shrines. The *Sabadeva*, *Dharmarāja*, and *Bhima* rathas have characteristic pyramidal roofs of three distinct storeys and chaitya-window niches. The *Arjunaratha* illustrates the simplest form of the Dravidian temple. The *Draupadiratha* is a small square shrine with a square curve-linear roof like a modern brick temple. [3] The third is what is called the *Rājasimha style*. The structural temples at Kāñchī and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram date from the beginning of the eighth century A.D., and are due to Rājasimha. The most important of these is the famous Kailāsa Temple at Kāñchī. The shrine with its pyramidal tower and flat-roofed maṇḍapam is surrounded by a series of cells, resembling *rathas*; but here the Pallava style is further evolved and more elaborate. In matters of details may be mentioned the more numerous lion-supporting pillars. Among other Rājasimha temples datable near to 700-720 A.D. may be the structural shore Temple at Mahābali-

puram. [4] The fourth and the last is known as the *Aparājita style* [900 A.D.]. We find in his time a further evolution of the Pallava Art of building which approached the Choḷa style. The *liṅgams* are cylindrical and the abacus above the capital more conspicuous. A shrine at Bahur, near Pondichery, is illustrative of this type.

THE CHOLA EMPIRE

The three States of the Tamil country, that is, the region south of the Krishṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā and extending to the Cape Comorin were the Choḷas, the Cheras and Pāṇḍyas. They were very ancient states, being mentioned by Megasthenes and in Aśoka's edicts. Their early history is, however, obscure. As we have seen, they were dominated first by the Andhras and then the Pallavas. Towards the close of the 9th century, Choḷas rose into prominence by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Pallavas who thus lost all hope of establishing their supremacy in the South. The Choḷas captured Tanjore and established their capital there.

The Choḷas were unknown to Pāṇini, but familiar to Kātyāyana, and recognised by Aśoka as an independent state [RE. XII]. The *Periplus* [c. 100 A.D.] and Ptolemy's *Geography* [c. 200 A.D.] provide us with some information about the ports and inland towns of the Choḷas country. The kingdom of the Choḷas included Madras, several other districts and the greater part of the present Mysore State.

The real founder of the Choḷa supremacy in Southern India was *Parantaka I* who reigned from 907 to 946 A.D. He defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṃha of Madura and also invaded Ceylon. Parantaka's son and successor *Rājāditya* was faced with great hostility of the Rashtrakūṭas who defeated and killed him at the battle of Takkola. The greatest king of the dynasty was *Rājarāja I* [985-1082] who laid the foundation of the great Choḷa Empire by extensive conquests. Within twelve years of his

accession, he destroyed the independence of the eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, the Gaṅgas of Mysore and the chiefs of the Malabar Coast. He also conquered Kalinga in the north and Ceylon in the south. He built a powerful navy and with its help, controlled the coastal waters of his extensive territory and started operation against the island of the Indian Archipelago. He built the great Rājārājeśvara Temple of Śiva at Tanjore, on the walls of which are found inscribed the records of his conquests. He also made a thorough survey of the country for the purpose of assessing land revenues on a fair basis.

He was succeeded by his son, *Rājendra Choḷa I* [c. 1012-1042 A. D.] who consolidated the empire built by his father and also extended it. He broke the power of the western Chālukyas, defeated the king of Goṇḍawāna in Central India, conquered the Burmese Coast islands, the Malaya Peninsula, and completed the conquest of the Indian Archipelago begun by his father. His army raided Orissa and Bengal advancing as far as the southern banks of the Gaṅges, opposite Goṇḍa. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest conquerors and deservedly assumed the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa in memory of his victory in the Gangetic province. His navy made the conquest of the island of Laccadives [Lakshadvīpa], the island of Maladives [Māladīvpa] of the Malabar Coast and the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal.

Rājādhirāja [1042-52], the son and successor of Rājendra Choḷa I, was faced with frequent revolts which broke out in the empire. But he was able to maintain order by inflicting several defeats on some of the most powerful of the rebellious princes of Chera, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon. He then invaded the Chālukya dominions. A sanguinary battle was fought between him and the Chālukya king Someśvara at Koppam in which Rājādhirāja was killed. But his younger brother, *Rājendra Deva* [1052-63], who was crowned to succeed him on the battle-field, led the battle to final victory and then successfully ruled the empire until his death in 1063. The next king *Virarājendra-Virakeśari* [1063-70] inflicted another defeat on the western Chālukyas at the battle of Kudala Saṅgamam at the apex of the Krishṇā Tuṅgabhadra

Doab. He also annexed the Kanara countries to the Choḷa empire. He died in 1070 and was succeeded by his son *Adhirājendra* who was assassinated for unpopularity and the throne passed on to *Kulottunga*, an eastern Chālukya prince, who was the daughter's son of Rājendra Choḷa I Gāṅgaikonda. He proved himself a successful warrior. He defeated the revolted Pāṇḍya princes and chiefs of Mālābar. He was a good administrator and made an elaborate revision of the revenue survey of the empire. He reigned from 1070 to 1118 A.D. After his death, the Choḷa empire began to decline during the reign of his successors, none of them having any record of any conspicuous achievement. The Hoysalas of Mysore as well as the Pāṇḍyas of the South drove the Choḷas from their territories. Many smaller feudal barons also asserted their independence. The last king of the Choḷa dynasty was *Rājendra Choḷa III* who managed to exist as an independent prince till 1267. There is no record of any prince after him.

CHOLA ADMINISTRATION

The Choḷas developed a highly efficient system of administration.¹ The empire was divided into six provinces, called *Maṇḍalam*s. Each *Maṇḍala* or provinces was divided into a number of *Koṭṭam*s [like modern divisions of British provinces]. Each *Koṭṭam* again was subdivided into a number of districts called *Nāḍu*s and within the territorial jurisdiction of a *Nāḍu*, there were several village unions called *Kurram*s and *Tar-Kurram*s which were the units of administration.

The King was the head of the administration. He gave close attention to the details of government. His orders were recorded by his secretaries who communicated them to the viceroys.

¹ Read Prof. K. A. Nilkantha Sāstrī, (1) *Studies in Choḷa History and Administration*. (2) *The Choḷas in 2 Vols.*

A viceroy was appointed to rule the Maṇḍala. Each maṇḍala or province being an old kingdom, its viceroy was either a descendant of its dispossessed royal house or a close relation of the king himself. He was in constant communication with the Central Government, receiving the king's order and reporting actions to him. He had under him a body of officials to conduct the administration according to his orders. All records were properly kept.

The chief source of the income of the Government was the land-tax which was usually 1/6 of the gross produce. Besides, there were other petty imports, such as dues on trade and profession, salt-tax, water-cesses and fines and custom dues. The revenue was collected in the village unions by their executives. Each village union or the Kurram had its local treasury where the unspent balance of the revenue was kept. Taxes were paid either in gold or in kind. Remissions were granted when necessary. The currency was the golden *Kāsu*, weighing 1/6 of an ounce.

Land revenue being the chief source of state finance, assessment was made with good care. For this purpose, there were periodical and thorough surveys of land of the whole country. There are records of two such surveys one made by Rājarāja and the other by Kulottuṅga I.

The Chōḷa kings spent large sums on public works. Roads, bridges and ferries were maintained. An extensive irrigation system existed. Dams were thrown across the rivers to divert waters to smaller channels. Artificial reservoirs, tanks and wells were also used for purposes of irrigation.

Having had to protect a large empire and extensive sea-coast, the Chōḷas maintained a standing army as well as navy.

The army was divided thus : [1] Archers; [2] Forest-soldiers ; [3] Chosen horsemen [4] Elephant corps,

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Development of village autonomy was the most unique feature in the Chola administrative system. The Kurrams were self-governing units. All power of administration was vested in a

The Village
Assembly or
Mahasabha

General Assembly of the Union elected by the people. It had a number of working committees to work after the details of administration in each. There were eight such committees: [1]

The committee that looked after the gardens; [2] that looked after the irrigation tanks; [3] that looked after the cultivated fields; [4] that looked after the affairs of the village generally; [5] Accounts Committee; [6] that looked after studies; [7] that looked after the disposal of lands, and [8] that looked after roads. The Assembly through its committees had complete control of the administration. All taxes were collected in the name of the Assembly which made the necessary disbursements and kept the balance in the Union Treasury. All unoccupied and unappropriated land were at the disposal of the Assembly. Even when the royal officers or members of the royal family had to make gifts to temples they had to adopt the procedure of passing through the Mahāsabhā for the acquisition of land and managing for their gifts. The Mahāsabhā made provision for the laying out of the land and bringing them under cultivation, making large or small plots, providing facilities for irrigation, suitable approaches to the field and construction and maintenance of roads for traffic of men and cattle and conveyance of produce from fields to farm-houses and from thence to markets. All these the Assembly did through the committees referred to above and acted independently of any reference to head-quarters. Besides all these activities of rural utility, the Assembly was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and administration of criminal justice. It had the power of passing the highest sentence on criminals. The death sentence was, however, subject to appeals to higher authorities. The king was, of course, the highest appellate authority of the country, while the royal officers supervised its administration and

hecked its accounts and records. The village administration was completely autonomous with the result that the Central Government was relieved of a great deal of responsibility and was assured of popular support. These administrative village units were called Kurrams and constituted a certain number

Constitution of
Kurram and Tue-
kurram

villages thrown together and farming something like a Union in modern times. There were also a certain number of town-ships which were large enough to stand by themselves. They constituted divisions by themselves were called *Tar-kūrrams* in the inscriptions. A typical township described as a Tur-Kurram was Uttaramēyūr where nearly two hundred inscriptions indicating the nature of the village administration have been found. Each Kurram or Tur-Kurram was divided into several Wards as in a modern municipal town. For example, Uttaramēyūr was divided into thirty wards.¹

MARITIME COMMERCE AND NAVAL ACTIVITIES

Ancient Tamil literature² and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromondal and Choḷa coasts enjoyed the benefit of an active commerce with both east and west. The Choḷa fleet boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal to carry on trade with Burma, Ceylon, the islands of the Indian Ocean and the Malaya Archipelago. The great Choḷa port of Kaveripadam was a great centre of trade and traffic.

The Choḷa emperors had organised a highly effective navy. We have seen, how with its help, Rājārāja I and Rājendra Chola I made extensive conquests overseas. Rājārāja destroyed the fleet of the Cheras at Kandalur and subjugated them. He also invaded the island and annexed its northern part which became a Choḷa province under the 'name of Muḥmadi Choḷa-Manḍalam.

¹ S.I.I. Vol. II.

² 'Cf. *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* [1904] by V. Kanakasabhai,

The effectiveness of the Choḷa fleet is also proved by the fact that Rājarāja conquered the Maladive and the Laccdaive islands. Rājarāja's son and successor Rājendra I annexed the whole of Ceylon about 1017 A.D., and maintained his hold on the islands conquered by his father.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Great in the art of administration, the Choḷa kings were also great builders, and all their works were on a most stupendous scale. The most laudable undertakings in this direction were their vast irrigation schemes. The embankment of the artificial lake built by Rājendra Chola I near his new capital Gangaikoṇḍa Choḷapuram was sixteen miles in length, with stone sluices and channels. Dams composed of huge blocks of dressed stone, were thrown across the Kaverī and other rivers. Choḷa cities were elaborately planned and laid out. The centre of the city was the temple. The Choḷa kings were Śaivas. Rājarāja built about 1011 A.D. a magnificent temple of Siva at Tanjore. His son Rājendra I built a new capital Gangaikoṇḍa-cholapuram and built a temple there. In the great *Tanjore Temple*, the tower rises pyramid-wise to a height of 190 feet in thirteen successive stories. It is surmounted by a single block of stone, 25 feet high and weighing about 80 tons. To place this imposition was a remarkable engineering feat. The temple is contained in two spacious court-yards, the larger of which measures 250 feet by 500 feet. More graceful if less imposing is the *Subrahmanya Temple* in the same city, with its highly decorated tower, less severe in outline. The temple erected in by Rājendra I in his new capital Gangaikoṇḍa-cholapuram is another imposing work of Choḷa Architecture. Its great size, huge *lingam* of solid granite, and the delicate carvings in stone are its striking features.

THE PĀNDYA KINGDOM

The Pāndyas, another Dravidian race, occupied the regions comprising the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely with parts of Travancore. Pāndya is the most ancient of the Tamil States. It is mentioned by Megasthenes and Asoka's inscrip-

tions [Kalinga RE.]. Its ancient history is obscure. The early Pāṇḍya kings issued copper coins with the symbol of the fish. We read in Strabo's History of the Romans that king Paṇḍion sent a mission to Caesar in B. C. 20. But their early history is obscure and the first Pāṇḍya king who can be placed in a definite chronological position was Nedum-Cheliyan who lived about the end of the second century A.D. In Yuan Chwang's time, the Pāṇḍyas were tributary to the Pallavas of Kāñchī, and Buddhism was almost extinct. Towards the close of the ninth century, they combined with the Choḷas to defeat the Pallavas and recover their independence. But in the eleventh century, they had to submit to the Chola suzerainty. After the downfall of the Choḷas in the thirteenth century, the Pāṇḍyas again asserted their independence and became the leading power in the South for a time. The most well-known of the independent Pāṇḍya kings was *Sundara Pāṇḍya* who came to the throne in 1216 and conquered the Choḷa capitals of Tanjore and Udaipur. His inscriptions are found in the Choḷa country proper, i.e., the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Sundara Pāṇḍya died in 1238 A.D. and was succeeded by his son *Sundara Pāṇḍa II*. He was confronted with the rising power of the Hoyasalas of Dvārasamudra who advanced along the base of the Eastern Ghats and annexed them. The coast land only remained in possession of the Pāṇḍyas. Ultimately the Pāṇḍyas became feudatories of the Hoyasalas of Dvārasamudra and when the latter collapsed before the Mussalman invasion in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Madura and the Pāṇḍya country also came under the Mussalman supremacy. Petty Pāṇḍya chiefs continued to rule over Madura as vassals, first of the Muslim viceroys of the South and then of the Vijayanagara kingdom which absorbed them in the sixteenth century.

The *Mabāvaiṃsa* and a long Chola inscription at Arupakham near Kāñchī [Madrās, G. o. Publication nos. 922, 923, dated 1919. pp. 8—14] speak of a great war between the Pāṇḍyas and Ceylon which invaded the country. The occasion of the Ceylonese invasion was a disputed succession to the Pāṇḍya throne of Madura, the contesting claimants being *Vīra* and *Sundara*.

THE CHERA KINGDOM

The ancient name of Chera is Kerala. The Chera kingdom, another Tamil State, comprised the modern Travancore State. Cochin and portions of Malabar. It is also very ancient and was mentioned in Asoka's Rock Edicts. In the beginning of the Christian era, we find *Perunar* as the king of the Cheras. He was killed in battle with the king of the Choals. He was succeeded by his son *Ilān-Jet-Semi*. The Chera king *Adām II* had married a daughter of Karikala, the Choḷa king. Their son *Senaguttavam* was a very powerful king who twice defeated the Choḷas and made the Cheras a supreme power in the South. His successor *Sey* was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king and the Cheras lost their supremacy to Pāṇdayas until the rise of the Pallava foreigners in the fourth century A.D. In the tenth century A.D. the cheras came under the rule of the Choḷas under Rājarāja Choḷa.

CHAPTER XVII

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE

I

A general review of the history of the South reveals some interesting facts which deserve notice. All the three principal religions of the North, Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmanism, were introduced into the South. Jainism was introduced in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. Aśoka spread Buddhism in the Peninsula. By the seventh century, orthodox Hinduism overshadowed both Jainism and Buddhism and became the dominant faith in that region. The contribution of the South to the religious life of India was in the form of the Bhakti cult. Saivism and Vaishnavism were the two products of the Bhakti Cult. Splendid temples of Śiva and Vishnu were erected throughout the Peninsula by the Pallava and Choḷa rulers. Nāthamuni and Rāmānuja, the two saintly exponents of the Bhaktimārga in Vaishnavism, and Basava, the founder of the Lingāyat Sect in Saivism, are well-known and honoured names throughout India.

A code of law like that of Manu in North India grew up in South India under the name of Āpastamba in the fifth or fourth century B.C. It grew up in the Andhra country and bears the mark of the Aryan influence.

Literature, Art and Architecture But of the indigenous literature of the South—the Tamil literature—unaffected by the Aryan influence, the earliest book, we hear of is the *Kural*, an ethical classic. Its author Tiru-Valluvar was born in Mylapore about the second century A. D. He set the standard of literary excellence and his work became one of the most popular in the region, south of the Godāvāri. The two Tamil Epics, *Silappadibikaram* and *Manimekalam* were also produced about the same time. The arts of painting and sculpture highly developed under the patronage of the Pallava and Choḷa rulers. The existence of innumerable magnificent

temples and buildings in the South in the early and mediaeval periods, already referred to, not only testifies to the love of building and sculpture evinced by South-Indian rulers but also bears the impress of a new technique in architecture giving rise to the Pallava-Chola School of Arts which inspired all subsequent buildings in the South in the early and mediaeval periods. The chief characteristic of Dravidian temples is the massive *Vimāna* or tower, crowning the central shrine. In the later Dravidian temples, the central tower is dwarfed by lofty *Gopuras* or gateways, decorated with masses of stucco ornamentation, which dominate the flat country for many miles around. Temples have frequently vast enclosures within their walls and a prominent feature is a tank in the centre, which is used for religious ablutions. It is usually surrounded on four sides by a colonnade with pillared cloisters and steps running down to the water.

If we can recall of anything in Indian art and architecture, literature and social institutions, indigenous in the sense of being pre-Aryan, it is found in the South. The late Sundaram Pillai truly remarked: "The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilisation by a study of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India, south of the Vindhya—the Peninsular India—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here, the process of Aryanisation has gone indeed too far to leave it easy to the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But, if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement, it is in the South and the further south we go, the larger does the chance grow."¹

The Tamil States being maritime countries, the people of those states developed into a great sea-going people. They were the earliest people to build an Indian navy and marine and develop a maritime commerce. The Indian mariners carried on trade with Arabia, Babylon, Ceylon and the islands of the Indian Archipelago.

Maritime Activities and Commerce

¹ Tamilian Antiquary, 1908, p. 9.

The powerful navy of the the Chōlas having conquered, as already noted, Ceylon, the islands of Burmese coasts, the Malaya Peninsula, Malabar coast islands, the Nicobar islands and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, laid the foundation of a Greater India. The recent discovery of large hordes of Roman coins in some districts of the South reveals that extensive trade was carried on between the Roman Empire and the Tamil States in the first and second centuries A.D.

Another important feature peculiar to South Indian administration is the growth of the local self-government in the form of village autonomy which has been already described in some detail in connection with the Chōla administration. It was a common feature in the administration of all the Tamil States.

Local Self-go-
vernment

II

It is generally on evidence that the Neolithic man passed in South India from the use of polished stone to that of iron, while in the corresponding period in Northern India the transition seems to have been from stone to copper and later to iron. Peninsular India has been recognised as geologically older, consequently the existence of man and civilisation in the South is older than in the North. The Indo--Aryan from the North, when they first began to penetrate the country, south of the Krishṇā, found an advanced civilisation already established.

'Dravidian' is essentially a linguistic term and used to a group of languages. It is loosely applied to mean an ethnic group or race. There are two groups of people in the South, one civilised and the other less civilised. The latter group is still persisting in many backward and unreclaimed groups of people that still inhabit India. When ultimately the Aryan immigration into South India did take place many elements of Dravidian civilisation

Dravidian
Society.

found entry into the Aryan civilisation which ultimately developed into Indian civilisation. The main core of society from its very inception in the South consisted of two main groups—the cultivators who formed the majority and the land-owners. From among the latter class came the kingly families. There were various classes of agricultural labourers—Nāgas with various occupations, the fisher-folk, the hunter-folk etc. Therein lies the rudiments of the Caste System as it obtains in India today, as distinct from the Varnāśrama Dharma of the Aryan Society. The hardy peasant folk of the country made good soldiers. Monuments to warriors who had fallen in battle are common objects.

The Tamils were bold sailors and skilled agriculturists. The pearl and conch fisheries go back to pre-historic times. The Rāmāyaṇa speaks of Madura as adorned with gold and jewels. The Arthaśāstra [c. 400-300 B.C.] refers to Pāndya Kāvataka, a class of pearls, found in the extreme south. The land was well tilled and efficiently irrigated. Pottery, weaving and metal work were the usual village occupations. Southern India possessed a number of commodities for which western nation had an urgent need—spices and precious stones. According to Rawlinson this trade with Yemen and the Red Sea must have gone on from very early times. According to the Bible “Hiram king of Tyre, sent his ‘Ships of Tarish’ from Ezion Geber [Akaba on the eastern arm of the Gulf of Suez] on a triennial voyage to Ophir, probably Sopārā on the Bombay coast, to fetch ivory, apes and peacocks and a great number of almag trees and precious stones for the temple then being built by his powerful ally king Solomon.”¹

He continues that the Hebrew names for these commodities clearly reveal their Indian origin. For example, the Hebrew names for ivory is *Shen habbin*, Skt. *ibha danta*, that of apes is *keph*, Skt. *Kapi*, that of peacocks is *Tuki-im*; Tamil *Tokei* [Ib. and n. 1].

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 178.

Among other articles of commerce were pepper, cinnamon, rice, coral, and tortoise which grew in the South in sufficient quantities. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* [c. 81 A.D.] throws further light on the South Indian trade with the west. The vast numbers of Roman copper coins found at Madura reveal the fact that there was a brisk trade between the Pāṇḍya country and Rome. Strabo [c. 25 B.C.] tells us that on the accession of the Emperor Augustus, a Pāṇḍyan king sent an embassy to congratulate him. The ambassadors took off from Barygaza [Broach] and went overland from the Persian Gulf and took with them various Indian beasts, birds, and snakes as presents. A Jaina or, Buddhist monk named Sarmanocheegas [Sramaṇāchārya] accompanied the embassy and following the example of the famous Kalanos in the time of Alexander the Great, burnt himself to death at Athens.¹

It is from the time of Asoka that we come to a definite knowledge of the political divisions of the South.

Peaceful penetra-
tion of Aryan
Culture

In R.E. XII Aśoka speaks of his dominions in three compartments; Northern India, dependent states in Southern India, and independent states in the Far South. These independent states were Choḷa, pāṇḍya, Keralaputra [Chera?] and Satyaputra [not yet properly identified]. He further says that these southern kings were his neighbours, and his propagation of the *Dhamma* must have been made with the support of the rulers who were placed on a footing similar to the five *Yavana* [Greek] kings of the West. We may, therefore, take it that Buddhism penetrated in the South peacefully. There is thus little doubt that votaries of Sanskrit culture—Brāhmins, Buddhists, and Jainas—came in and made settlements in this region. Such influence as they exercised upon the Tamil Society was the result of example rather than compulsion from authority.

The doctrine of Bhakti is devotion to personal God, the devotion and service of individuals to Him as a
The Bhakti Cult. means of attaining salvation by grace that transforms Brāhmins of old to Hindus of modern

¹ Ib. p. 180.

times, and the Hinayāna Buddhism [the basic principle of which is the attainment of *Nirvāna* for oneself and by his own exertion] to Mahāyānism [the basic principle of which is service to humanity, salvation for others, faith in and devotion to a personal god]. This Bhakti movement which has in its genesis the worship of the gods Śiva and Vishnu is a pre-Aryan and peculiarly Southern cult which gradually found its way to the North. It had its beginning in the South long before the Sanskrit culture penetrated in that region. But its efflorescence is witnessed in the Pallava period of the Saṅgam literature. The Bhakti literature of the Śaivas, e.g., the *Tevaram* and *Tiruvāchakam* of the Vaishnavas, and the *Prabandha literature* of the Ālavāras alike belong to this age. The religious literature of the bhakti cult gives evidence of the development of *Āgamas* [Sāstric literature] which lies at the root of temple worship, and which again is a direct product of the religion of the Bhakti cult. The whole Āgama literature, both Vaishnava and Śaiva, numbering more than 120, came into existence to fulfil the needs of the temple worship. The deity in the abstract had to be conceived of in some suitable form, to be installed in images in temples and worshipped in accordance to the Āgama literature. Here the complex presents a mixture of the Aryan and pre-Aryan elements.

During this period of the development of the Bhakti cult in the form of Śaivism and Vaishnavism and temple worship of the deities according to the Āgamas, similar activity and development of Jainism and Buddhism were also witnessed. There is evidence of much contention and disputation. The state and its ruler were regarded as something distinct, and whatever the personal persuasion of the ruler, his individual religion was not elevated to the position of State religion. This mental position of the king gave no occasion for any attempts at unity or uniformity in religion, and this removed one of the fruitful causes of persecution. Each group of people was allowed freedom of its own course in respect of religion.

This liberalism also pervaded all public life and showed itself in various developments of human activity. Rulers adopted

No Persecution
of any faith by
rulers

the same principle in matters of administration and this led to the development of local administrative institutions which came ultimately to provide a popular self-governing agency that regulated social and public life in the South. We have seen [*Supra*, p. 372f] how during the period of the Chōḷa empire which included the plain portion of the Peninsular India, epigraphic evidences of the free local institutions for social and administrative work were plenty.

The cult of Bhakti, the Āgama literature and Temple worship naturally led to the development of architecture in the South. Art is the handmaid of religion. The South-Indian temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu in their magnificence and magnitude are its living examples. They are monuments of devotion of their votaries who contributed in money and labour to their construction. Royal patronage in building them had full co-operation of the people. In fact, the South Indian temples are almost an institution by themselves. They are the centres of public and religious life of the people of their localities. There they congregate to worship, to discuss politics, social problems and exchange social amenities. They hold public meetings, religious Kīrtanas and Kathānāṭakas in the mandapas or “pillared-halls” of the temple.

Liberalism

South-Indian
Temple. An Institution by themselves

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